

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## S. African Blacks defy racist terror



South African police drag Soweto demonstrator on June 15. Two days later, cops opened fire in Cape Town, killing up to sixty protesters. See pages 2, 5.

## Cape Town youth revolt, strikes shut auto plants

## Protests hit Senate draft vote

By Fred Feldman

From Berkeley to Baltimore, from Atlanta to Seattle, the Senate vote June 12 to authorize funding for Carter's draft registration spurred picket lines and other emergency protests.

Meetings are being held by antidraft coalitions in many cities to plan broader actions, including rallies and leaflets at post offices on the first Monday of registration.

The protests at post offices, where nineteen- and twenty-year-old men are supposed to sign up as potential draftees, were called by antidraft conferences in Washington and San Francisco before the Senate vote. The dates for registration have not yet been set by the government.

At the same time, Washington pushed forward other moves to prepare for war: a Senate committee okayed a \$1.5 billion appropriation for the MX missile and the U.S. Air Force announced that a squadron of F-4 Phantom jets and 400 U.S. personnel would be stationed in Egypt.

Because the 58-34 vote in the Senate authorized a slightly different sum than the House of Representatives had, the bill now goes to a committee of House and Senate members. The

version that emerges will have to be voted on by both chambers, then signed by Carter.

Within hours after the Senate vote was announced, more than 300 students poured into the streets of Berkeley, California, for an antidraft march. The next day, hundreds more rallied at the University of California and marched to the post office.

A silent vigil of thirty in Pittsburgh June 12 was followed the next day by a picket line of seventy-five persons at the federal building.

In Boston 150 people marched June 14 in an action sponsored by a range of organizations.

Protest actions also occurred in Baltimore; Seattle; Boulder, Colorado; San Diego; Atlanta; Indianapolis; Phoenix; Minneapolis-St. Paul; and other areas.

Planning for future actions was uppermost in the minds of many foes of the draft.

The Washington Area Coalition Against Registration and the Draft called an area-wide meeting for June 25 at 7 pm. It will be held at the All Souls Church, 16 Harvard Street, Washington, D.C.

The cosponsors of the meeting in-  
*Continued on page 6*



Protesters took to streets in Berkeley, California, on June 13, one day after Senate approved draft registration.

Militant/Peter Seidman



## South African invasion of Angola

The racist rulers of South Africa ended their latest invasion of Angola June 14 after massacring hundreds of refugees and freedom fighters from neighboring Namibia.

The raid was intended to deal a blow to the struggle of the Namibian people, who want independence from the apartheid regime. Guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organisation have kept tens of thousands of South African troops tied up in Namibia.

The raid was also part of the South African regime's effort to weaken and, if possible, topple Angola's independent government. The Angolans make no secret of their sympathy with the Namibian people and SWAPO.

Despite the brutality of the raid, the apartheid regime did not act from strength. It is facing the most serious challenge in years from Black workers and students.

Their struggle has been inspired by the gains by independence fighters throughout southern Africa, gains which have been opposed every inch of the way by the South African government—and its allies in Washington and Wall Street.

The first blow came in the winter of 1975-76 as the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau were winning their long wars for independence. South African troops invaded Angola. The goal was to impose a pro-imperialist regime on the Angolan people and to terrorize fighters for independence throughout southern Africa.

The racists' plan collapsed when nearly 20,000 Cuban troops came to the aid of the Angolans. Their presence remains a major obstacle to new full-scale invasions.

The Angolan victory helped inspire the June 1976 Soweto uprising in South Africa, the biggest upsurge against racist oppression that had been seen there in decades.

Today freedom fighters in South Africa are

inspired by Zimbabwe. A popular upsurge there forced South Africa and the other imperialist powers to allow the Patriotic Front, which led the struggle against white majority rule, to take office.

No wonder the South African rulers are terrified of the effects a victory for independence in Namibia could have.

By attacking Angola, the racists hope to reverse a relationship of forces that is increasingly favorable to the struggle for Black majority rule.

The U.S. State Department issued a statement deploring the South African regime's bloodbath in Angola—while equally condemning the SWAPO guerrillas.

This "evenhanded" criticism of the racists and their victims is cover for the real position of the Carter administration: unconditional support to the apartheid regime.

The U.S. government issued the same kind of disclaimers during the South African invasion of Angola. It was later proven that Washington largely bankrolled the operation, and that every step was coordinated with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

When Cuban troops blocked the South African racists in Angola, Washington roared with outrage. Today Carter cites the Cuban troops in Africa as a prime obstacle to normalizing diplomatic relations and ending the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba.

The latest events make it starkly clear what's behind Washington's hatred for the Cuban role in Africa.

The Cuban troops are helping defend the side that the vast majority of Americans sympathize with—the side of Black freedom and independence. Thousands of American youth, especially Blacks, would willingly go to fight alongside their Angolan, Namibian, and South African brothers and sisters against the racist dictatorship.

Instead, Carter is moving to draft youth so he can send U.S. troops *against* such freedom struggles.

Unionists, Black groups, women, and youth in this country should raise our voices now against Carter's support to the racist regime.

Stop all U.S. aid to and trade with South Africa!

No to apartheid!

No to the draft!

## The labor party idea

Plant closings, inflation, attacks on union organizing drives and safety gains, congressional defeat of labor bills, cutoffs of unemployment benefits—this is reality for American workers.

Decades-old ways of union operating are shattered. "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." Just try to find a Democratic and Republican "friend of labor" today. The best politicians money can buy are all sold.

"Let's get our own people in office," is the response from union members and leaders in many different areas.

- In California the AFL-CIO organizes meetings to discuss political action and the labor party (see page 3).

- The District 38 convention of the Steelworkers passes a resolution for initiating a labor party.

- After years of fighting plant closings, union activists in Youngstown decide to run a Steelworkers local president for congress as an independent. Their platform: jobs (see page 24).

Workers are attacked by the bosses. They turn for protection to the government. The government stops pretending to stand in the middle. It is revealed to be run by the bosses through their two political parties.

The idea of workers having their own political party is increasingly seen as a natural idea.

The Youngstown example is one of the first in decades. It will not be the last.

What is needed now is to spread the word about the Youngstown campaign, the meetings in California, the District 38 resolution. These ideas and actions should be discussed in union bodies throughout the country. Debates and panel discussions should be organized. Labor party resolutions can be raised and passed. And some areas will follow Youngstown and initiate independent labor campaigns.

The *Militant* will play a vital role in reporting on these developments. The bosses' press will certainly not inform workers about them.

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### Auto Workers Convention

UAW President Douglas Fraser whips up racist anti-imports campaign as his proposal to save jobs. **Page 14.**

### U.S. military: friend of women?

Like proposal to draft women, ballyhoo about few women who graduated this spring from U.S. military academies is part of effort to enlist women in drive to militarize America. **Page 7.**



### Miami cops kill Cuban immigrant

Sixty recent arrivals ask to return to Cuba, as story of a May 16 shooting surfaces. **Page 9.**



## The Militant

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# Calif. AFL-CIO conference discusses labor political action

By Walter Lippmann and Jeff Mackler

LOS ANGELES—"This has been the freest discussion I've heard in many, many years," said John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the 1.8 million-member California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO.

Henning was addressing 200 delegates from California AFL-CIO unions at a CLF-sponsored educational conference on "Labor's Political Action." The conference was held here June 5.

Two themes ran through the day's discussion. The first was the importance of the labor movement forging alliances with women, Blacks, Latinos and youth in their struggles for equality and justice. The second was whether to continue to support the Democratic Party or form a new party based on the trade unions, a labor party.

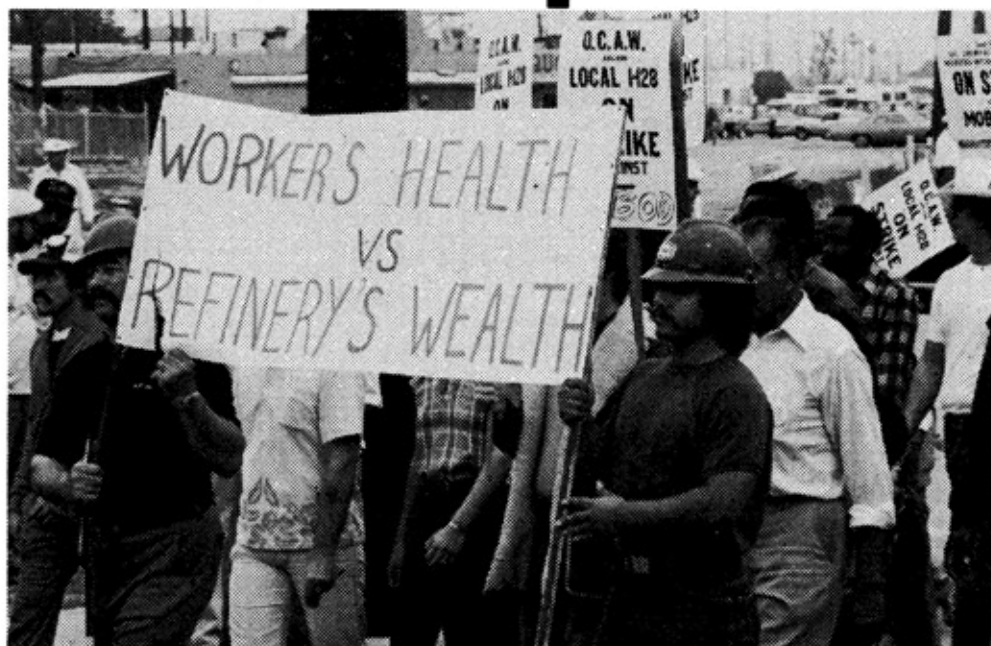
The conference was open to any member of an AFL-CIO affiliate in the state sent by his or her local. Most of those in attendance were union officials with a scattering of rank and file delegates.

"The labor movement is under serious attack," said Justin Ostro, general vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, explaining why a discussion like this was needed. "This is probably the most severe attack that the labor movement has ever faced. It is not just a whim, something they're trying. They smell success and they believe that they can be successful in ridding their environment of unions."

## Ongoing discussion

This conference was one of a series of meetings set in motion when, in his Labor Day 1979 Message, Henning called for the opening of a discussion "on the feasibility of forming a labor party."

In his opening remarks to the conference, Henning reviewed developments



Militant/Walter Lippmann



Militant/Harry Ring

Right, California AFL-CIO head John Henning. Left, one-day harbor work stoppage in Los Angeles last spring to support striking oil workers. Need for labor solidarity against bosses and government impels more workers to think about forming labor party.

since then. He praised the November 1979 seminar on the labor party idea sponsored by the Social Services Union, Local 535. "We need more free discussion of the rank and file," Henning said.

He also reported that the conference of the 71,000-member District 38 of the United Steelworkers had just passed a labor party resolution.

In urging that the discussion of the labor party be a continuing one, Henning pointed out, "Although 70 percent of our endorsed candidates won in the recent elections, they are not with us. They are with the corporate rich."

He noted that "72 percent of the contributions to the Democrats come from corporations—only 8 percent from labor."

"The Democrats are run by millionaires," he complained. "Labor is the

unwelcome stepchild in the Democratic Party."

In stressing the need for an open discussion on the labor party proposal, Henning said that he is not in favor of launching a labor party now. The labor party discussion, he said, "is only in an evolutionary stage of development, and does not deal with the here and now."

## 'Stop Reagan'

Reflecting the difficulty which the labor officialdom faces in turning out the vote for Carter, Jacob Clayman, former head of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, urged a vote to "stop Reagan" without mentioning the name of the incumbent president.

"There is still a difference between the two parties," Clayman insisted. "We have got to have the good sense to recognize it."

Al Barkan, head of the national AFL-CIO's political arm, the Committee on Political Education (COPE), was less shame-faced in his unconditional commitment to the lesser-evil approach.

"I don't have to tell you there is a lack of enthusiasm [for Carter] and it's been a long time since the Democrats have given us a candidate we can vote for with enthusiasm. . . . but it's the old lesser-of-two evils and I'll hold my big nose and vote for Carter without any regrets."

## Voices for labor party

Baldwin Keenan, a delegate from Carpenters Local 1815 in Santa Ana, criticized the panelists for not devoting more time to the labor party alternative. "Young people don't identify with the Democrats," he said. "Just like we don't want a boss as a shop steward on

the job, we don't want people in government who sell us out."

A delegate from Printing Specialties Union Local 362 in Oakland urged the CLF to "call a big labor conference to break with the Democrats and form a labor party now."

Walter Lippmann, Social Services Union Local 535, said that, "The Democratic Party controls most state legislatures, the Congress, and the White House. Yet just about every piece of pro-labor legislation has been defeated."

Jack Shepherd, a delegate from USWA Local 2058, also spoke in favor of the unions forming a labor party. Shepherd was a delegate to the recent District 38 convention of the USWA.

He recounted his first experience in the labor movement, in 1938, when he belonged to a company union. "The workers soon realized they needed an independent union," he said. "And just as workers need an independent union which they control, they need a political party which is independent of the bosses."

Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers, attacked California Assemblyman Floyd Mori, who had been endorsed by the CLF. She reminded the delegates that Mori had introduced some thirty anti-UFW bills into the state legislature and had publicly likened UFW President César Chávez to mass murderer Jim Jones.

Huerta favors running "union candidates" in the Democratic primaries.

Other speakers from the floor criticized the labor party proposal. Said one, "The statistics are against us. A labor party could only be a minority party."

Said one delegate from the IAM, "I'm surprised to see so much support

Continued on page 16

## Calif. NOW backs discussion

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the California state convention of the National Organization for Women, meeting at Irvine, California, June 15:

Whereas: The Democratic and Republican parties have not fulfilled the mandate of the American people in enacting ratification of the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment] and other crucial issues of concern to women, minorities and all working people, in particular, they have not passed labor law reform or repealed Taft-Hartley 14-b;

Whereas: The California labor movement has initiated an important discussion around the formation of a labor party, as exemplified by the June 5 meeting held by John Henning, Secretary-Treasurer of the California Federation of Labor;

Therefore be it resolved: That California NOW participate in these discussions around the formation of a labor party currently taking place in California in order to influence it.

The convention voted to send a letter to this effect to Henning and to appoint someone to act as a liaison with the labor movement.

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## Camejo at San Francisco rally

# Why socialists campaign for aid to Nicaragua

By Peter Seidman

SAN FRANCISCO—When a Black U.S. Marine here was asked to sign a petition to put Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley on the ballot, he inquired, "What will Pulley do for me?"

"He'll keep you from being sent to El Salvador," the petitioner replied.

"Give it here," the marine said, signing his name.

Petitioners for the SWP are talking to thousands of working people about why they should oppose Washington's threats and actions against the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions and the freedom struggle taking place in El Salvador.

This antiwar, antidraft campaigning is one way the socialists are turning the tables on the Democrats and Republicans. In an effort to suppress socialist ideas, the two big-business parties require the SWP to gather 101,000 signatures on each of two petitions: one to put Pulley and vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann on the ballot, the other for U.S. senatorial candidate George Johnson.

But the SWP campaigners plan to go well over the discriminatory California signature requirements. And they plan to conduct a campaign for Cuba and Nicaragua at the same time.

### Camejo tour

This solidarity campaign was highlighted at a rally here June 14. The main speaker was Pedro Camejo, who was the SWP's presidential candidate in 1976. Camejo recently returned from Nicaragua, where he was reporting for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* on revolutionary developments since the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship last July.

Now Camejo is touring California explaining the significance of recent events in the Caribbean.

A representative of Casa Nicaragua in San Francisco gave greetings at the rally, thanking Camejo and *PM* for their reports on Nicaragua.

Manuel Pérez, a student from El Salvador who decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance after hearing Andrew Pulley speak at a petitioning kickoff rally June 7, also spoke.

Camejo explained that Washington hates the example set by the Nicaraguan masses and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Since overthrowing Somoza, they are rebuilding their country to meet the needs of the workers and peasants, not foreign corporations and capitalist profiteers.

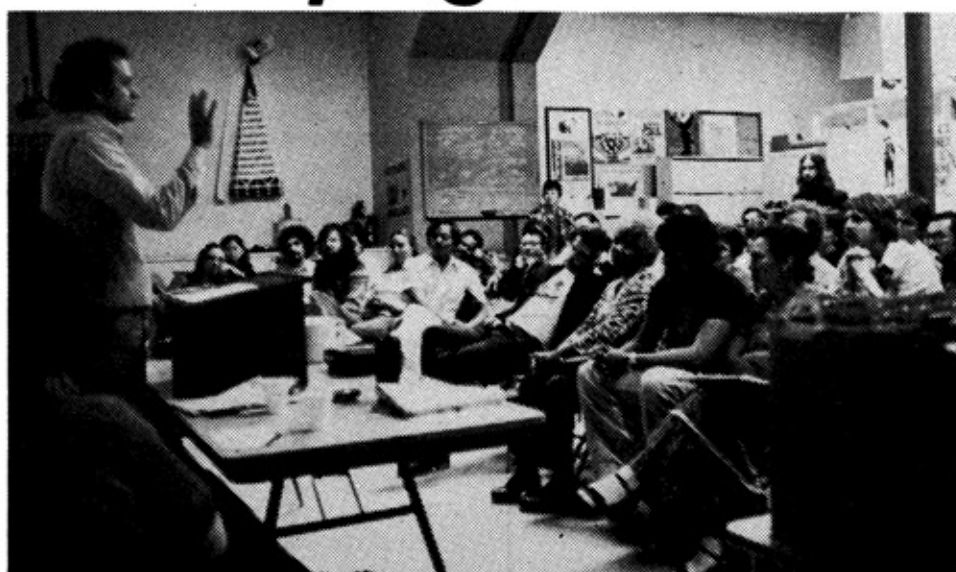
### Petition drive picks up steam

After the first eight days of petitioning, California socialists have gathered 60,020 signatures to put Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann on the 1980 ballot. A similar number have been collected for the SWP's senatorial candidate George Johnson. This puts the petitioning drive nearly 10 percent ahead of schedule.

State law requires the SWP to file 101,000 signatures for its presidential slate and a similar number for Johnson. The socialists are planning to go way over.

Campaign committees report the following results for the presidential ticket:

Oakland/East Bay	15,102
Los Angeles	14,237
San Diego	11,349
San Francisco	10,685
San José	8,647



Pedro Camejo, whose reports from Nicaragua have been featured in the *'Militant,'* tells San Francisco rally how socialist campaign can defend Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, Cuban, and Grenadian revolutions.

The big corporations understand that Nicaragua represents even more. "The real problem for them," Camejo said, "is the whole spirit of the political current represented not only by the FSLN, but also by the revolutionary organizations in El Salvador, the Castro leadership in Cuba, and the revolutionaries in Guatemala and Grenada. "This current is setting an example in struggle for the masses of Latin America: that there is a solution to the poverty they live in."

### Obstacles to Washington

Several factors limit what the Carter administration can do to turn back this revolutionary wave.

"Carter wants to be able to use U.S. troops in Central America and the Caribbean," Camejo said. "But there's a big problem with that. The American people are strongly against it. They don't want another Vietnam."

"This is the main concern of the Democratic and Republican parties right now, to get the American people ready for war!"

"Another deterrent is the role of Cuba. Cuba has pledged to help any government that asks for aid against an attack organized by Washington."

So far, as hundreds of discussions during the first week of California petitioning make clear, Carter's efforts to whip up a war mood are failing.

This reflects the depth of antiwar sentiment among the American workers. This sentiment is also being fostered by the conscious efforts by the FSLN "to put the American government in a position where it will be extremely difficult to invade," Camejo said.

The FSLN is leading revolutionary campaigns—such as the land reform and literacy drive—that evoke sympathy, to the extent they are known to the American people.

As a result, "Washington knows that it does not have the posture right now to invade Nicaragua. It would be tactically foolish."

Instead, Camejo warned, they "are trying first to crush the struggle in El Salvador. They're funnelling in millions of dollars and sophisticated counterinsurgency weaponry. They have advisors there, just like they did in Vietnam. They're using units of Somoza's army that fled Nicaragua."

"A confrontation is building towards an explosive civil war there, which could spread into all of Central America," Camejo said.

### Solidarity campaign

He stressed that these events are extremely important for working people in the United States.

"We need to build a broad, united campaign against the blockade of Cuba; against intervention in El Salvador; and for aid to Nicaragua," the SWP leader urged.

"We must remember what happened in Vietnam. The movement started small. But the government's war moves shook people up. Under the impact of the war, it was possible to organize a mass movement and reach tens of millions of people, including American soldiers."

In the event of new U.S. war moves in Central America or the Caribbean, Camejo forecast, "the working class will have a far greater role in the antiwar fight right from the start."

"We also need to remember that the sizeable and growing Latino community inside the United States will also be directly affected by the process in Latin America. They will play a big role in the antiwar struggles ahead."

Right now, Camejo said, "we must campaign to send material aid to Nicaragua. This is part and parcel of the struggle to block U.S. military moves in the region."

"Explaining the importance of supporting the literacy campaign and the other progressive measures of the Nicaraguan government is one of the best ways to deepen opposition to military intervention."

"We need to continuously lay the groundwork for this, especially in the

unions and plants where we work," Camejo urged.

"There's one final reason why the revolutionary advances happening in Nicaragua and Cuba and the battles in El Salvador are the most important events in the world today for working people," Camejo explained.

"Ever since we began, the SWP has recognized the basic problem in the world is the lack of a revolutionary leadership deeply rooted among the masses and capable of leading a successful fight for power."

Many defeats have taken place because the big parties that call themselves Communists or Socialists have tried to keep the struggles of the masses within capitalist bounds. These defeats range from the rise of fascism in Germany before World War II to the defeat dealt to the Chilean working people by Pinochet's coup in 1973.

But "a new leadership has appeared, first in Cuba in 1959, and now in Nicaragua and Grenada too," Camejo said. "A leadership that is revolutionary. That is proletarian and internationalist. That is capable and sophisticated in its ability to fight against oppression and exploitation."

"This leadership is calling on the people of the world to support these struggles."

"This leadership is being consolidated and expanded in the heat of battle," Camejo said, "in the confrontation that's approaching."

"The consolidation of the socialist revolution in Nicaragua, the defense of revolutionary Cuba, and further advances for the revolution in Central America and the Caribbean—these are key to the victory of the North American revolution."

"So," Camejo concluded, "it is with great pride that we see this revolutionary struggle taking place in Grenada, in Cuba, in Nicaragua, and in El Salvador."

"We pledge to throw everything we've got into solidarity with these revolutionary fighters."

"And we recognize this opens up a historic opportunity to build the socialist movement within this country as well."

## Voices of revolution

"We represent the immense majority of humanity."

Fidel Castro at the UN



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## Strikes shut auto plants

# South African Blacks defy racist terror

By Nancy Cole

In the bloodiest attack since the Soweto rebellion four years ago, South African riot police killed up to sixty Blacks and wounded 200 others in Cape Town June 17.

Tear gas floated across the entire area throughout the night, as Black youth tied up traffic, erected street barricades, and set bonfires around the Elsie's River community. An estimated \$10 million damage was done, authorities said.

Police violence has so far been unable to crush the angry Black youths, who are protesting the segregation and discrimination that weigh on every aspect of life under the apartheid regime.

Demonstrations continued June 18, with an unknown number of Blacks falling victim to police bullets. To justify their shoot-to-kill order, the cops have labeled the youths "hooligan elements."

The Cape Town protesters are from that section of the Black population classified by the government as Coloured (of mixed ancestry). The revolt there was the latest in a wave of protests and strikes that have shaken South Africa since April.

The entire workforce of 4,000 Black auto workers (both African and Coloured) closed down Volkswagen's plant in Uitenhage June 16 in a strike for higher wages. The Ford and General Motors plants are also shut down because of strikes by parts workers.

The June 17 police assault came one day after the fourth anniversary of the Soweto student revolt. Fearing that meetings to commemorate the June 16, 1976, uprising would spark even greater defiance of the apartheid rulers, the government banned all gatherings of more than ten people.

For the past three years, meetings of up to 10,000, held mainly in churches, have marked the Soweto anniversary.

The government proclamation, reported the *New York Times*, "was the most severe restriction on political activity in nearly 200 years."

Despite the ban, a reported 400 Blacks showed up at a church in Soweto June 15. They were barred by police. When some regrouped and tried to march to another church, cops fired tear gas and beat demonstrators.

On June 16, protesters again defied the proclamation in several areas. This time police opened fire in Soweto, Bloemfontein, and Noordgezicht, a



Residents of Elsie's River aid man shot by South African cops

Coloured area on the fringe of Soweto. No deaths were reported, but at least thirty-five were wounded.

South African radio reported June 17 that, contrary to earlier reports, thousands of African and Coloured workers in the Cape Peninsula did not go to work for the second day to mark the Soweto anniversary. Earlier reports had claimed the economic boycott had failed.

In Cape Town, the absentee rate was reported as high as 75 percent, with fewer than 10 percent of 50,000 textile workers reporting to work. Thousands of stevedores stayed away from the docks.

The authorities closed six teachers' colleges in the area because of the protests.

Facts on the number of killed and wounded in the June 17 and 18 police attacks are available only from "offi-

cial" sources. Police sealed the area off and barred foreign reporters and all TV crews from "trouble" areas in the country. Local reporters can enter only under police escort.

Authorities offered the excuse that a TV cameraman had been seen giving demonstrators a clenched fist salute, thus "inciting" them. Police say the press ban will continue indefinitely.

The upsurge began in April when Coloured students initiated a boycott to protest the apartheid regime's system of segregated and unequal education.

Hit by high inflation and declining standards of living, Black workers moved into action in May. Thousands of textile workers in Durban struck the Frametex Company. Management responded by firing 6,000 strikers and calling in armed police.

In Cape Town, more than 6,000 Black workers in the meat and clothing industry walked off their jobs. Consumers have been boycotting meat there in solidarity with the strike.

Many commuters have also been boycotting buses in the African and Coloured townships to protest a fare hike.

On May 24, some 4,000 Coloured students demonstrated at several supermarkets in white residential areas of Cape Town to show support for the striking meat workers as well as to protest the "exploitative" economic system.

For the first time during this strike wave, 4,500 Black gold miners struck the Stilfontein gold mine June 3. Police moved in with helicopters and dropped tear gas on the protesting miners.

Against this background of widespread urban unrest, Black guerrilla forces set off bombs at three separate energy installations on June 1-2. It was the most daring attack in twenty years of insurgent activity, and police were unable to catch any of the guerrillas.

The guerrilla attack led to a tightening of security at hundreds of potential industrial targets. And the boost in morale it must have given apartheid opponents was indicated in new legislation that now prohibits press reports of guerrilla attacks on strategic targets.

## Troops massacre Namibians

With nothing but gloomy news at home for apartheid supporters, the press and TV played up the criminal invasion of Angola by South African troops the week before the Soweto anniversary. Several hundred Namibian refugees and freedom fighters were massacred in the attack.

Since the 1976 year-long rebellion, when at least 600 Blacks were killed, South Africa's majority has lived under intensified police intimidation.

The government's response to the latest uprising is an escalation of violence.

But the fact that the revolt is deepening in the face of this repression is tribute to the fighting spirit and determination of the Black majority of South Africa.

"I am giving you five minutes to disperse," a top police officer ordered a group of protesters June 16.

A Black youth stood directly in front of him and said, "It's our country, not the government's country."

# Zimbabwean workers win pay increases

The new Zimbabwean government, in face of a continuing wave of strikes, announced on May 28 that it would soon establish a national minimum wage to cover the country's approximately one million Black workers.

At a news conference in Salisbury, Labour Minister Kumbirai Kangai said that Parliament would enact a minimum wage law on July 1, setting minimum monthly wages of US\$108 for industrial workers and US\$46 for domestic workers and agricultural laborers.

Since Black wages had been kept extremely low under the previous white supremacist regime of Ian Smith, this minimum wage law will require employers to grant substantial wage increases, in some sectors doubling the workers' current pay.

Kangai's announcement followed three months of labor unrest that has swept the country, drawing in tens of thousands of Black workers in more than 100 strikes, most of them for higher pay.

The strike wave began shortly after

Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) won a sweeping victory in the elections held in late February, defeating the candidates favored by the white settlers and the British and South African governments. The country gained its formal independence on April 18, with Mugabe becoming the first Black prime minister.

ZANU's electoral victory and the attainment of independence after years of bitter struggle greatly fired Black expectations.

Textile workers, shoe company employees, bus drivers, manufacturing workers, and many others walked off their jobs in Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo and other cities in March to press for higher pay.

ZANU leaders, although they at times expressed sympathy with the strikers' demands, nevertheless urged the workers to return to their jobs. Kangai toured the strike-hit plants, addressing workers and asking them to give the new government time to work out its labor policy. Mugabe himself broadcast an appeal on March

25 for an end to the strikes.

Some of the strikers heeded Mugabe's call. Others did not.

In early May, the strike wave again went into an upswing. Some 4,000 Black coal miners, earning US\$3 a day, walked off their jobs to demand US\$3 an hour. They were employed at the Wankie coal mine in northwestern Zimbabwe, a mine that is owned by the Anglo-American Corporation, a giant South African firm.

Some 8,000 workers at the Hippo Valley sugar estates, also owned by Anglo American, briefly struck before returning to work under Kangai's urging.

On May 13, about 5,000 gold and asbestos miners went on strike for higher pay.

And on May 20 some 2,000 workers at Zimbabwe's largest iron and steel plant, located in the town of Que Que, did likewise.

In addition to the labor unrest, there have been mobilizations against the police force, which is still predominantly white-led.

On May 28, the same day as Kangai's announcement about the minimum wage, Blacks demonstrated in Salisbury demanding replacement of the existing police force with a "people's police" composed entirely of Blacks.

The next day, about 500 persons, most of them women, again demonstrated in Salisbury outside the parliament buildings. Many of the protesters wore clothing with ZANU's colors or bearing Mugabe's portrait.

Riot police ordered the women to disperse. When the women refused, the police attacked them with clubs.

The continued strength of the white settler minority—in the economy, army, police, and civil service—places significant obstacles in the path of the Zimbabwean freedom struggle.

But as the victory of the Black strikers showed, the settlers and their imperialist allies are in a much weaker position than before, and cannot hold back the struggles of Blacks as they did under the Smith regime.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



## Pulley, YSA blast Senate move

# Socialist campaigners build antidraft actions

By Harry Ring

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance responded immediately to the congressional decision to authorize military registration.

The morning after the senate vote was taken, Socialist Workers presidential nominee Andrew Pulley joined more than 200 students at the University of California, Berkeley, in a march and rally condemning the decision.

Pulley had issued a statement hours earlier which he distributed to participants in the protest action.

The statement declared, "Let there be no mistake. The Democratic and Republican parties will use registration as the first step toward reinstating the draft. They want to bolster the power of U.S. military threats against revolutionary struggles that threaten the interests of big business overseas."

In a national statement issued June 14, Pulley charged that Congress has ignored the massive antidraft sentiment expressed in recent months by huge numbers of demonstrators.

Instead, Pulley declared, Congress chose to listen "to the voices of big business . . . which would have our youth fight and die to protect their profits abroad."

This theme was emphasized in a statement by Margaret Jayko, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. She branded reinstatement of registration as "a deadly threat to our generation. . . a big step toward sending American youth to die in other Vietnams."

Around the country, SWP and YSA members joined with others in protest picket lines and vigils, and in meetings of antidraft coalitions to prepare further actions.

Meanwhile, in San Diego, Kathryn Crowder, SWP candidate for Congress from the Forty-Second District, taped



Andrew Pulley at June 13 antidraft rally in Berkeley

Militant/Peter Seidman

an antidraft statement that was carried by a half dozen area radio stations.

That Saturday, many of the SWP campaigners who are petitioning throughout California prominently wore Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann antidraft buttons. They

reported that many people were eager to sign for an antidraft ticket.

In Phoenix, SWP and YSA members joined with other supporters of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft in an emergency picket at the main post office June 14.

And, the morning after the Senate

action, SWP candidate Josefina Otero, who is running against Barry Goldwater for U.S. Senate from Arizona, held a news conference to condemn Goldwater's vote in favor of registration.

Responding to the right-wing senator's assertion that registration was in the nation's "vital interest," Otero declared that the draft and other war preparations have absolutely nothing to do with protecting the interests of the American people and everything to do with protecting the global investments of Mobil, Exxon, and other powerful corporations.

Otero said she would join upcoming antidraft marches and rallies at post offices, and urged "a massive outpouring of protests so we can stop the draft."

In New York, the statement released by the YSA pointed to the Washington, D.C. demonstration last March that brought out some 20,000 draft protesters. The statement declared, "The draft can be stopped. It will take a massive and broadly based movement. Activities like the protests called by the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft for the weeks of registration will be an important part of building this movement."

The statement pledged that the YSA would stand "shoulder-to-shoulder" with other antidraft forces.

Meanwhile, the SWP national campaign committee announced plans for accelerated distribution of the brochure, "How to Stop the Draft" by Andrew Pulley. A popular statement on the roots of the war drive, it outlines the socialist perspective for an effective fight against the draft and militarization.

The SWP and YSA's plans include massive distribution of the brochure at plant gates, schools, and in the communities.

## ...protests

Continued from front page

clude D.C. Councilwoman Hilda Mason; Vince Benson, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1906; United States Student Association; Malcolm X Cultural and Education Center; Rev. Mamie Williams of the Calvary United Methodist Church; Young Socialist Alliance; Washington Peace Center; and many other groups.

In Chicago, a meeting of the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft followed up a successful news conference by calling a protest picket line for June 21. It is also planning a Rock Against Registration concert on July 4.

A meeting of the Albany (New York) Peace Coalition called a planning meeting for June 26, which is winning wide support.

Such meetings are needed in every area to help mobilize the anger of thousands at the government's insistence on moving toward reimposing the draft in the face of deep popular opposition.

A focus for opposition to the draft was suggested by the proposals of the May 31 National Emergency Meeting Against Registration and the Draft held May 31 in Washington, D.C. Attended by about 150 people, it was called by the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

Among the groups participating were the American Friends Service

Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee Youth Section, Socialist Workers Party, War Resisters League, Young Socialist Alliance, Libertarian Party, and United States Student Association.

Those present included key organizers of the March 22 antidraft rally in Washington, which attracted 20,000 people.

The meeting called for protest actions at the main post offices in cities across the country on the first Monday of the two-week registration period.

It also proposed a week of coordinated local antidraft activities from October 12-18.

A June 7 conference in San Fran-

cisco, called by Mobilization Against the Draft and attended by more than 100 people, also endorsed these proposals.

Organizers plan to put special emphasis on reaching out to postal workers, who are expected to add registering youth for the draft to their many other duties.

A memorandum on solidarity with postal workers was issued May 20 by Michelle Stone of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

"In planning for these events," she noted, "we need to bear in mind that the postal clerks . . . are friends who share common concerns. As the Carter Administration orders postal workers to sign up America's youth for war . . . it simultaneously cries for a balanced budget, slashing social programs to the bone, and cutting postal services. Defense spending, on the other hand, has gone out of sight."

Stone pointed out that tens of thousands of postal workers will lose their jobs if Carter's plans to increase the war budget and cut social spending go through.

"Clearly, we need the support and solidarity of unions and working people," she concluded. "In our protests this summer we should proclaim our solidarity with the American Postal Workers Union and the National Association of Letter Carriers as they fight the same cutbacks and the same government excuses that we too fight against."

The growing prospects for involving unions in the struggle against the draft were indicated when the San Francisco AFL-CIO Central Labor Council voted at the end of May to ask the national AFL-CIO Executive Council to reconsider the prodraft stand it has taken thus far.

## NO DRAFT!

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, are campaigning against Washington's plans to send American youth to fight and die in new Vietnams. Join us!

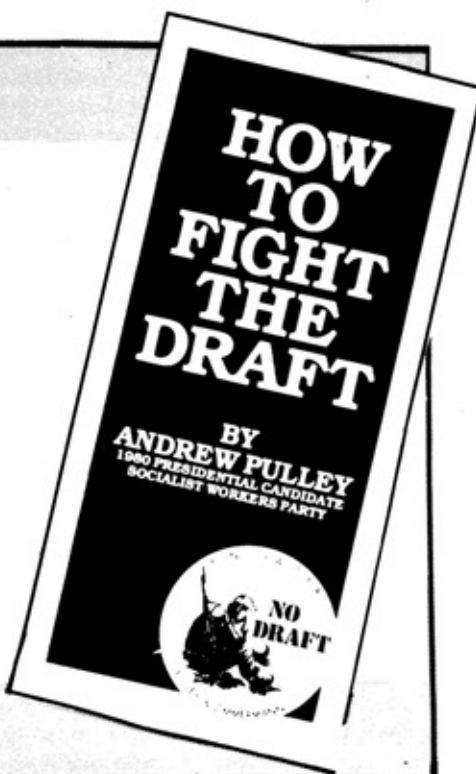
- ☐ Add my name to the list of Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann.
- ☐ Send me Andrew Pulley's brochure, How to stop the draft—4¢ a copy.
- ☐ Send me the campaign poster "No draft"—3¢ a copy.
- ☐ Send me the YSPZ antidraft button (depicted on draft statement cover)—50¢ each, 35¢ each for 10 or more.

- ☐ Send me a one-year subscription to the Young Socialist newspaper. Enclosed is \$1.
- ☐ I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Union School org. \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane  
New York, New York 10014

## Join the YSA!





## Abzug, Steinem, Graves address forum

# Feminists denounce draft and anti-Iran moves

By Suzanne Haig

NEW YORK—In the wake of the Senate's vote to authorize draft registration for nineteen- and twenty-year-old men, more than 600 people turned out for a forum here June 10 to discuss what the response of the women's rights movement should be to the government's military buildup.

The panelists included Bonnie Graves, wife of John Graves, one of the U.S. hostages held in Iran; Bella Abzug, president of Women, USA; Barbara Williams, director of the Congressional Black Caucus; Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; and others.

The panelists took a strong position against any military involvement by the United States in Iran.

Bonnie Graves read a message sent to the meeting by Barbara Timm, whose son Kevin is also a hostage.

"We've learned one thing these past seven months," Timm's message began. "It's not very popular to question our government. That will not stop us, we will continue to question."

"Why did the president of our great country put the lives of fifty-three Americans in jeopardy in the first place? Why is he so willing to risk our young people's lives through a military course?"

She referred to three demands that have been made by the Iranian government: that "the U.S. government apologize to Iran for our past misdeeds," that the U.S. "not interfere in the internal affairs of Iran, including their attempts to bring the shah back for trial," and that congressional hearings take place on Washington's role in Iran.

"We believe that only in coming to terms with the Iranian people's needs will the hostages be freed."

After reading the message, Graves said, "We must create a sufficient feeling in the United States so that our



Barbara Timm, left, with hostage son, sent message to meeting: 'It's not very popular to question our government. That will not stop us, we will continue to question.'

Congress understands that we will not permit any sort of military action in Tehran. We must realize that the rest of the world is no longer taking orders from the United States. Where is the honor in propping up the shah or dictators in Latin America? What does it mean to be number one when we are first only in the accumulation of nuclear bombs or selling arms?"

Bella Abzug slammed Carter's pronouncement that equal rights meant women had an equal obligation to be drafted. She referred to the press conference that Women, USA, the National Organization for Women, and other women's rights organizations held to oppose the draft for women and men.

But, she added, "NOW and some other women's groups feel compelled to add that should there be draft registration, then women, too, must be included. Some are prepared to join in lawsuits filed by the American Civil Liberties Union challenging a for-men-only draft."

"We get caught in that dilemma only if we let the militarists dictate to us the terms of the debate or lecture us on their concepts of equality, which we do not have to accept," Abzug said.

"I will never, never agree that women have an equal right to push the nuclear button. Because no one—no man, no woman, no one with any sense of humanity—has the right to push a button that can destroy the

peoples of the world in a nuclear holocaust.

"Rather than assert that women have an equal right to be drafted, we should assert that men have an equal right with women *not* to be drafted. As women, we should be working together with men to stop the draft of eighteen- and nineteen-year-old men, and to stop the next step, which could be an actual draft."

"I'm not interested," Abzug added, "in fighting for the right of a woman to be a Dr. Strangelove or to head a corporation that underpays and exploits other women and minorities; or shuts down a plant, throwing people out of work; or dumps hazardous chemicals into the backyards of our homes; or operates a nuclear power plant that leaks radioactivity into the air we breathe."

Barbara Williams spoke on another aspect of militarization, the cuts being made in social programs to fuel the war drive.

Gloria Steinem raised the need for the women's movement "to think not only about resistance to the draft, but also about the ends to which the draft is being put." She used the example of U.S. support to opponents of the government in Afghanistan.

"They stated very clearly," she said, "that they objected to this Marxist government because the government leaders had said women could go to political meetings and that children, including girls, could go to school."

"This is the group that you and I are supposed to be getting drafted to go and help. Well I have a foreign policy. I say that I'm not going to help those guys. I'm on the side of those women who want to go to those meetings."

The forum was an important contribution to the discussion in the women's movement around the draft and the armed forces.

## 'No need to prove ourselves in the U.S. Army'

By Suzanne Haig

The graduation for the first time of women from West Point and the navy and air force academies was played up as a big victory for women's equality.

In an article entitled, "Yes, Sir, Women Made the Grade," the June 9 *Newsweek* declared that a "spit-shined handful of women pioneers made history."

*U.S. News and World Report* gushed similar praises in its May 26 article, "Academy Women Ready to Take Command." It characterized the graduates as "qualifying for an elite corps of officers."

At first glance these graduations might seem like an accomplishment for women to take pride in or as necessary for women to earn an equal place in society.

But we don't need to prove ourselves in the U.S. Army. Women are quite capable of fighting for something we believe in. We demonstrated this in the wars for liberation in Nicaragua and Vietnam. We've seen it in union battles and the civil rights movement. And we'll see more.

The issue is the role of the U.S. military.

Can the women's movement be on the same side as the Pentagon?

The armed forces are used to crush freedom struggles around the world. Korea, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua are just a few of the countries where the U.S. government has sent troops in an effort to put down popular uprisings.

The women graduates of the military academies will have the job of policing the world for the big corporations, the same ones that profit from women's inequality here.

The U.S. armed forces foster racism and sexism—in addition to discriminating against women in their ranks. Remember the many antiwar GIs who told of racist and sexist brutality and torture practiced against women in Vietnam by the Pentagon.

This reactionary role doesn't stop at the shores of this country. The U.S. Army was used in the past

century against workers fighting for the eight-hour day. Through the 1930s the troops were called out to try to break strikes of workers who wanted a union. They were an instrument of the government's attempts to crush the Black movement in the 1960s and the coal miners' strike in 1977.

And they will be used again in the same way.

Today Carter asks us to sacrifice so the government can spend more on arms. That means more tax dollars for weapons of annihilation. And it means cutbacks for programs such as child care, medical care (especially for abortions), and funds for the elderly.

The fight for women's rights puts us on the opposite side of the employers, Carter, the racists, and the dictators—on the side of the struggles of working people, the civil rights movement, and the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America for a better life.

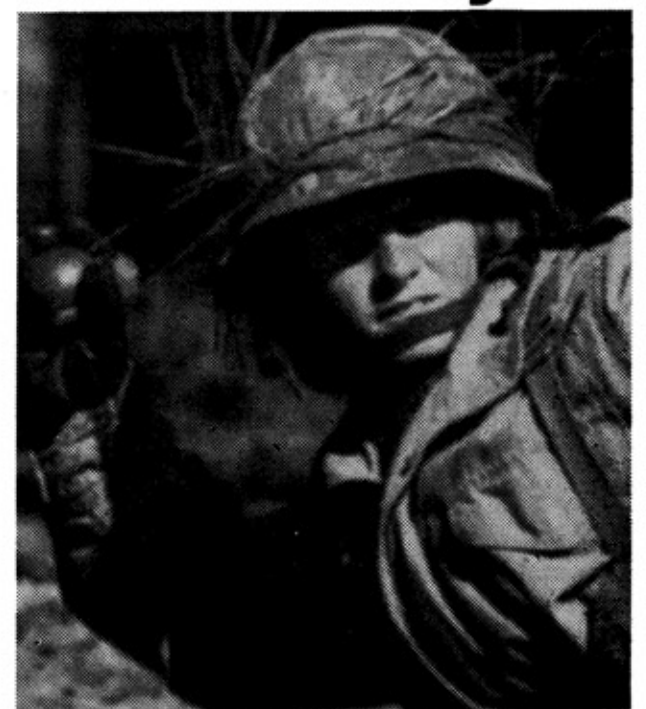
Strengthening the army and Washington's ability to wage war puts the employers and their government in a stronger position to deal blows to women's rights and to the labor movement as a whole.

With the help of the media Washington is trying to give the armed forces an image opposite to the one they earned during the Vietnam War. They want to turn around the antiwar attitudes of millions of Americans so the armed forces can be built up and used in new Vietnams.

The administration wants to enlist women in this militarization effort. The fanfare around the graduations of women from military academies is an attempt to portray the U.S. military as an equal opportunity employer, a force for women's rights.

The rulers figure that if women can be convinced that the military is their friend, then they can be won to support what it does. After all, the propaganda suggests, if a woman can make general, maybe the next Vietnam really will be fought for democracy.

Even in its own terms, the talk about sexist barriers crashing down in the military is a fraud.



The new officers, and thousands of other women volunteers, are being placed in non-combat positions. They will be used to *free up more men* for fighting and dying in the front lines.

Being drafted or serving in the military isn't part of equality. It is a further erosion of the right of women and all working people to be free of the encroachment of militarism and the devastation of war.

Carter's call for registering women for the draft is presently on hold. But there will be no letup in the government's attempts to win women to support his militarization drive.

Women must reject this as totally alien to all the movement is fighting for. We must be in the forefront to expose the real aims of Carter's military buildup.

And we must join in the fight to stop the draft.



## 200 rally against Klan action in Ohio

By Alan Scott

MIDDLETOWN, Ohio—Two hundred people marched and rallied in the Black community here against the Ku Klux Klan June 14. The Middletown Anti-Klan Network organized the demonstration in response to a simultaneous Klan rally.

The city, dominated by the giant union-busting Armco Steel Company and considered a stronghold by the Klan, has been the site of numerous Klan activities and attacks in recent months.

The anti-Klan action occurred without incident. Its size clearly outmuscled the small Klan rally of forty.

However, organizers did face obstacles. The police department circulated a letter red-

baiting the demonstration and branding it as violent.

In an effort to limit participation, the news media published daily reports accusing the Anti-Klan Network of planning a confrontation. And the city turned out more than 200 armed cops to scare people away.

Speakers at the rally included: Frank Chapman, National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression; attorney James McNamara, National Lawyers Guild; Rev. Rudolf Pringle; Tom Kimbrough, a Middletown Black community leader; Baldemar Velásquez, Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

March participants came from several Ohio cities including Cincinnati, Dayton, Yellow Springs, and Columbus.

## Court protects FBI informer

Racist killers on the FBI payroll can expect kid-glove treatment from the courts if their crimes ever come to light.

That was the not-so-subtle message June 13 as federal Judge Robert Varner blocked prosecution of Gary Rowe, the FBI informer who participated in the Ku Klux Klan murder of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo in 1965.

Rowe was indicted for the slaying in 1978 after two of his KKK accomplices testified that he fired the fatal shots.

Varner's order halting prosecution was a temporary one, but a United Press International dispatch said he "hinted that it might be made permanent."

Varner said he was "gravely concerned" that Rowe's right to a speedy trial had been denied.

Rowe claims he was granted immunity from prosecution in return for his testimony against the other racists. Alabama law provides for no such immunity.

Nevertheless, Judge Varner held, according to UPI, that



GARY ROWE

courts have "a duty to protect witnesses" such as Rowe.

Rowe has certainly gotten protection-plus from Uncle Sam. A favorite of late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Rowe was highly paid for his activities in the Klan. He publicly acknowledges beating and shooting Blacks and white civil rights activists. He is also implicated in the infamous 1963 bombing of a Birmingham church in which four Black girls died.

## Black framed in Miami rebellion

By Miguel Pendás

MIAMI—Judge Mario Gode-rich set bail of \$50,000 for twenty-year-old Frank Lee James June 11. James is a Black man charged with attempted murder on the first night of the rebellion here last month.

Since bail was set, one of those James was charged with attacking died, and the charge has been changed to first-degree murder.

The cops who bludgeoned Black insurance executive Arthur McDuffie to death were only indicted for second-degree murder and conspiracy. Their acquittal led to the three-day Black rebellion.

James's attorney, prominent

Black lawyer Harold Long, stormed out of the courtroom after the bail was announced saying, "It is apparent why there is so much disruption in the community."

The nine Dade cops who killed McDuffie are making progress toward their goal of being reinstated with back pay.

One, William Hanlon, has already been reinstated. On June 11, a civil servants examiner rejected evidence presented against the reinstatement of another, Herbert Evans.

The remaining killer cops have reinstatement hearings coming up soon. If they win, each stands to collect thousands of dollars in back pay.

## N.C. cops arrest protesters as trial of KKK killers begins

By Craig Stevens

GREENSBORO, N.C.—The victims of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi violence here last November now face new harassment and victimization by the courts.

As jury selection began June 16 in the trial of six Klansmen and Nazis for the murder of antiracist demonstrators, the judge sharply restricted public access to the trial.

Relatives and associates of the murder victims were arrested as they tried to enter the courtroom.

Members of the Communist Workers Party, including one wounded during the November 3 shooting and still confined to a wheelchair, were forcibly excluded by police.

Four were arrested on charges ranging from "interfering with court proceeding" to "assaulting an officer with a deadly weapon." Bail was set as high as \$2,500.

The following day a CWP attorney representing the widows of the slain antiracist demonstrators was denied entrance to the court.

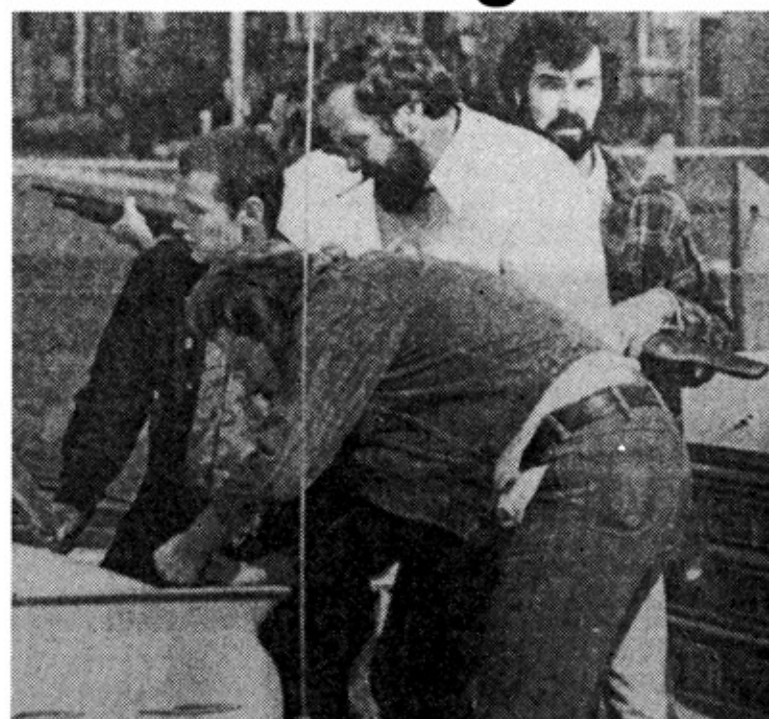
The trial is being held in a small courtroom that accommodates 148 people—including jurors, court officials, defendants, attorneys, and news media. A much larger courtroom is available, but will not be used for "security reasons."

Demonstrators and assemblies within 300 feet of any entrance to the courthouse have been banned.

Superior Court Judge James Long deems the restrictions necessary because "these cases may at times be emotionally charged."

The defendants were part of a car caravan of 30-35 Klan and Nazi members who drove to an anti-Klan rally organized by the CWP November 3 in the heart of Greensboro's Black community.

The racists, in front of television cameras, methodically



Klan and Nazi members prepare to shoot demonstrators last November.

opened fire on the demonstrators, killing five and wounding nine.

The majority of those involved in the killings have not been indicted, although many are easily identifiable on videotapes.

Although Klan and Nazi leaders say they will not demonstrate near the courthouse, the White Knights of Liberty [a Klan faction] held a June 14 rally and cross burning in Walkertown, twenty miles from Greensboro.

About seventy-five people attended, including two of the defendants.

During the rally shots were fired but no one was hurt. The sheriff's department claims that they are "investigating" the incident.

Imperial Wizard Joe Grady said the shots were fired to scare away four Black men.

In a related development, a report was issued June 6 by a private consulting firm hired by the city of Greensboro to

evaluate the police conduct and planning for November 3.

The most significant conclusion of this report is that police had legal grounds for stopping the Nazi-Klan caravan long before it arrived at the scene of the demonstration.

Police had information from an informer in the Klan group that the group was armed and intended to disrupt the anti-Klan rally.

The consultants' report noted, "they [the police] are not obliged to stand by and wait for a crime to be committed when they have a reasonable basis for believing one may be committed."

City officials have been defending cops' inaction on the grounds that they did not have the legal right to stop the caravan. The report explains why the precedent cited by the city is inapplicable.

Jury selection in the murder trial is expected to take three to four weeks, and the trial as a whole as long as four months.

## Cover-up in Jordan case hit

By Osborne Hart

The cover-up of the attempted assassination of civil rights leader Vernon Jordan has prompted a reaction from Black leaders.

John Jacob, executive vice-president of the National Urban League, of which Jordan is president, told a June 14 news conference in New York: "We have grown increasingly disturbed and distressed over the diversion of public attention away from the horrible nature of the crime and onto matters of speculation, innuendo and gossip."



MARTHA COLEMAN

Jacob was referring to the initial cop stories that the shooting was related to an alleged personal relationship between Jordan and Martha Coleman, a Fort Wayne Urban League board member.

Coleman stated June 9 that the murder attempt was a "racial incident" and that the attention given her personal life by the authorities and media has intentionally distracted from that fact.

"I believe that racism exists in Fort Wayne, and I believe it is not considered acceptable to speak of it," she said. "And that's why I'm being victimized in this incident. To speak of a racial incident is not acceptable, but it is acceptable to pick apart my personal life. To take the pressure off the fact that a nationally prominent Black leader was shot."

In a major feature on the Jordan shooting June 9, *Miami Herald* reporter James Savage explains: "Fort Wayne Mayor Winfield C. Moses, worried that an attempted assassination 'would cause riots here like the one in Miami,' insisted that

there was no racial aspect to the shooting. . . .

"The possibility that Coleman had a jealous lover who saw her with Jordan and then shot him was one theory discussed by Fort Wayne police for days after the shooting. There was never any evidence to support that theory or any other theory linking Coleman to the crime."

The refusal of the cops to admit that the Jordan shooting was a calculated murder plan flies in the face of the evidence uncovered thus far.

As Savage explains: "If you lie in the tall grass where the sniper waited to shoot civil rights leader Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., you wonder why anyone ever doubted that this was a classic assassination attempt."

"This spot on a grassy embankment beside the Marriott Inn was chosen with a hunter's eye for cover and field of fire."

"The trajectory was perfect. The nighttime lighting of the victim was ideal. Nearby Interstate 69 provided a quick escape route."



## 60 ask to return to homeland

# Cuban immigrant gunned down by Miami cops

By Miguel Pendás

MIAMI—At least sixty newly arrived Cuban immigrants have applied to the United Nations for help in getting back to their homeland.

According to Gilles Sicotte, a representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "the greatest motivation seems to be a desire to be united with families they left behind."

He added, "I expect more refugees will come forward to apply for repatriation."

Rejoining families could well be a reason, but the "welcome" the Cuban immigrants have received upon their arrival in the United States

may have soured many of them on the "land of liberty."

In what hints at a criminal cover-up by local and federal authorities, the Miami *Herald* nonchalantly reported June 12 on the first of the recent Cuban immigrants to become a victim of Miami cop terror.

Juan José Toledo arrived in Miami May 16 on the boatlift from Mariel. He was reunited with his wife for the first time in more than eight years and saw his daughter for the first time ever at the refugee processing center located in the Orange Bowl stadium.

Less than twenty-four hours later, Toledo was gunned down by Miami police.

According to the *Herald*, processing authorities declared Toledo a paranoid schizophrenic and sent him to the Miami Mental Health Center. There clinic workers said he became unruly and "armed" himself with a boxcutter. Police were summoned.

Already under sedation, Toledo could have presented no threat to the armed cops.

But according to resettlement workers who witnessed the scene, officers drew their guns. As one worker shouted, "Don't shoot! Don't shoot!" one of the cops opened fire, shooting twice.

Toledo died nine days later on May 25. Police did not inform his

wife of what had taken place until eleven days after the shooting, two days after Toledo's death.

The killing was not reported to the public until the June 12 *Herald* article, and that has been the sole mention of this outrageous crime.

The *Herald* also noted that Toledo's name had appeared May 17 on a list of "riot victims." This is revealing of the cover-up of Toledo's shooting that must have been planned, as well as of the credibility of the accounts of non-Black "victims" in the rebellion.

A police spokesman was quoted as saying, "It's an unfortunate thing. The officer is sorry it happened."

No charges have been filed.

## Repression in El Salvador: 'Made in USA'

By Nancy Cole

With Congress giving the green light to registration, the June 28 New York City demonstration in solidarity with El Salvador will be an important anti-draft protest.

A long list of groups from Latin American solidarity groups to Harlem Fight Back to the Young Socialist Alliance is sponsoring the march, which has as its demands: No draft! No war! No intervention in El Salvador!

The slogans are anything but rhyming, disconnected demands. U.S. military interference in El Salvador is an established fact. By moving to restore



Product of junta's 'reforms.' U.S. military aid is vital to terror against Salvadoran people.

### March in New York June 28

No draft! No war! No intervention in El Salvador! Assemble at noon at the Armed Forces Recruitment Center, Forty-third Street and Broadway. March to the United Nations for a 2 p.m. rally. For more information call (212) 989-5695.

the draft, Washington is seeking to have full-scale military intervention as an option.

Carter administration officials publicly voice full support for the military junta in El Salvador.

But the U.S. government is far less open about the specific aid Congress has approved and will continue to rubberstamp for the bloody Salvadoran rulers.

According to an article on the June 15 op-ed page of the *New York Times*, the Carter administration went

"beyond credibility" in its congressional testimony on the \$5.7 million in emergency military assistance for El Salvador. A Defense Department official claimed the aid was only for "non-lethal" equipment to "help strengthen the Army's key role in reforms." The aid was approved a week later.

The *Times* article is by Thomas Conrad from the American Friends Service Committee and Cynthia Arnson from the Institute for Policy Studies.

"As repression by Salvadoran security forces escalates daily in the countryside," Conrad and Arnson wrote, "this [U.S. military] gear becomes vital to the junta's waging of counterinsurgency war."

The AFSC obtained details on the military aid plan under the Freedom of Information Act. The list of equipment includes 7,500 CS tear-gas grenades, 250 "Manpack" field combat radios, thousands of batteries, and an unspecified number of tear-gas-grenade launchers.

The aid also includes the sale of fifty portable night-vision devices, used for observation and nighttime weapons targeting. They were perfected for use in Vietnam. According to Conrad and Arnson, three communications-monitoring sets for the Salvadoran regime were judged "perfect for use against guerrillas and insurgents" by a U.S. Army aide.

All this information, of course, was

available to Congress when they obligingly accepted the "nonlethal" label for the military aid.

Part of the aid package is going for U.S. "training teams." The Miami *Herald* reported early in May that the U.S. Southern Command, headquartered in Panama, was assembling three twelve-man teams for assignment in El Salvador.

"U.S. military analysts and promilitary factions at the State Department favor the dispatch of the military training teams to El Salvador to help the junta counter leftist guerrillas," the *Herald* said.

State Department official John Bushnell had told a congressional committee in March that there is no contradiction between "our security assistance proposals" and "our support for reform in El Salvador."

The U.S. government's idea of reform is hinted at in one statement by a U.S. military officer, who was trying to convey the gist of the "training program" in El Salvador.

The officer said, according to the Miami *Herald*, "The idea is that if a guy is standing with a protest sign, you don't have to cut him down with a machine gun. You use tear gas."

This sterling example of "democratic reform" is not out of kilter with "reforms" meted out to Black youth and striking workers in this country.

The fight that helps win the Salvadoran people the right to determine their future without U.S. interference will be the same one that wins U.S. youth their right not to die in another Vietnam.

## Nicaraguan official describes role of women

By Toba Singer

WASHINGTON—"Women have distinguished themselves in the sixty-year struggle of Nicaragua against imperialism and foreign domination," Lea Guido told a meeting here at the Institute of Policy Studies June 5. Guido is minister of social welfare in Nicaragua.

"You must have a clear idea of the struggle we waged in Nicaragua to appreciate the role of women."

Guido described the women's organization—AMPRONAC—that recruited and trained women to fight against the Somoza dictatorship.

Because of the repression, which intensified in 1974, AMPRONAC's first meetings in 1977 only attracted two members.

"But quickly we grew to sixty," Guido continued, "and in the midst of a state of siege, we held open meetings

for as long as possible, denouncing the government's assassinations, holding demonstrations of several thousands. More and more women joined. As the repression worsened, we were forced into semi-clandestine activity.

"In December 1978 we assumed a special task—to prepare for the insurrection."

AMPRONAC worked with the Movimiento Unido, which organized defense neighborhood by neighborhood.

"We became part of a vanguard that prepared people for the insurrection. Women participated at all levels. They took leading political positions. They fought in battle and they cared for the wounded.

"In order to participate, they left their traditional position in the home to be part of the living struggle."

One of those women was Louisa Amanda Espinosa, a poor woman who

learned to read after she joined the FSLN. She was killed during the revolution, and AMPRONAC has since been renamed the Louisa Amanda Espinosa Association of Nicaraguan Women.

Guido suggested that Nicaraguan solidarity groups and women's organizations in the United States could aid the Nicaraguan people by getting out the truth about what is happening there.

She appealed for support for the national literacy drive, in which thousands of youth have spread out across the countryside to teach people to read and write.

"The peasants can barely feed their own families, let alone the teachers and literacy workers. We need food—most of which we buy abroad—so we need hard currency, dollars," Guido said.

"The peasants use wood-burning stoves, so the women who are in their forties suffer from eye ailments from exposure to the smoke. They require eyeglasses and medicine before they can even begin the physical process of reading."

Asked about the attitude toward women in Nicaragua, Guido explained that "the new position of women has to be accepted because women participated and helped to win gains. AMPRONAC plays a political role and that, too, must be accepted."

"We have managed to open two new day-care centers each month. We've made discrimination against women illegal and banned sexist advertising."

Guido said that the Nicaraguan women's group welcomes contact with women's groups around the world which have an open attitude toward the Nicaraguan revolution.



# Clark: 'U.S. gov't must tell truth about Iran'

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—In a news conference here following his return from Iran, former attorney general Ramsey Clark called upon Washington to end its past and present intervention into the affairs of the Iranian people.

Clark had gone to Iran in defiance of a travel ban imposed by the Carter administration. Along with nine other Americans he participated in an international conference on U.S. actions in that country.

Carter has threatened Clark and others of the delegation with prosecution for defying the travel ban.

At a June 16 press conference here Clark declared that the right to travel is "one of the human rights . . . a right found in the United States Constitution."

He branded present U.S. intervention in Iran, particularly the aborted helicopter raid, "a deadly business."

In an article written for the June 21 *Nation* magazine, he characterized the raid "as 'humanitarian' as attempted murder."

Clark called upon the government to support the right of Iran to seek extradition of the shah and to recover property stolen by him.

He called for an end to the present economic sanctions against Iran.

He urged Congress to investigate the crimes committed by the CIA and other government agencies against Iran.

Clark also condemned the victimization of Iranian students in this coun-

try, likening it to racist hostility against Blacks.

Asked if government action along the lines he indicated should be conditional on Iranian release of the hostages, Clark said no.

Such a condition, he said, could only prolong the crisis. And, he added, it's not right to say, "I'll tell the truth if you do something first."

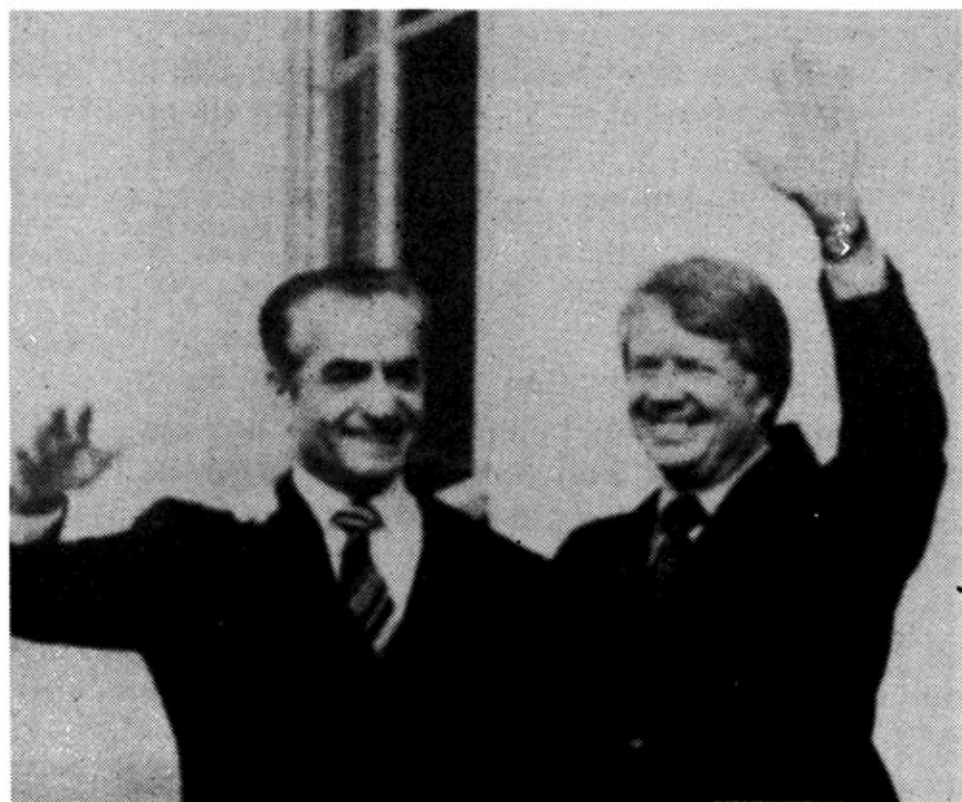
Discussing the Iranian insistence on U.S. admission of wrongdoing, Clark said, "The main thing they want is to be let alone. . . . To be let alone, they think it important that it be known that they have not been let alone. Because until the world sees that there has been wrongdoing . . . the possibility of its continuance is very real."

Clark also offered a good lesson on why reporting on key political events by such publications as the *New York Times* should not be taken at face value.

The *Times* had prominently reported that the closing session of the Tehran conference adopted a resolution castigating Clark, likening him to the German Nazi, Rudolf Hess. Other papers picked up the story.

Clark flatly declared, "Nothing like that happened."

He said he had remained until the close of the conference and there simply was no such resolution. He said he did not know what the source of the *Times* story was, particularly since its reporter had left before the close of the proceedings.



Carter and shah during despot's 1977 visit to Washington. Ramsey Clark says government should admit truth about its role in backing shah, organizing his secret police and army, and covering up torture and murder by his regime.

# Tehran clash: what really happened?

By Janice Lynn

A right-wing attack on a June 12 rally in Tehran received wide coverage in the international capitalist media. The rally was organized by the Mujahedeen and was attended by some 100,000 people. One member of the Mujahedeen was killed, and hundreds of people were injured.

Reports of the attack from the various wire services were unclear and contradictory. Information from socialists inside Iran helps clarify what actually happened.

The Mujahedeen rally was held in the large Avjadeh stadium next to the occupied U.S. embassy. It was called to commemorate the eighth anniversary of the death of the well-known anti-shah Mujahedeen fighter Reza Rezai and other Mujahedeen martyrs.

As some media accounts accurately reported, the Mujahedeen rally was physically attacked by right-wing thugs. These thugs, known as *hezbollah* ("the party of god"), are the same rightist forces that have physically attacked other Mujahedeen rallies; carried out the violence on Iranian campuses in April; and broke up meetings and destroyed the headquarters and bookstores of socialists and other left-wing groups last year.

Some reports in the media, such as that in the *New York Times*, created the false impression that the Muslim Students Following the Imam's Line and the *pasdaran* (revolutionary guards) guarding the occupied U.S. embassy were involved in the attacks on the Mujahedeen rally.

Socialists in Iran report that public statements by the *pasdaran*, the Ministry of State, and individual students from the occupied embassy have all confirmed that such reports are not true. In fact, these statements condemn the right-wing *hezbollah* for instigating the violence.

The students in the embassy explained that organizers of the Mujahedeen rally had informed them there was a possibility of disruption at the stadium. As a precaution, the students had asked the *pasdaran* to increase security around the U.S. embassy. The students' statement strongly denounced attempts by the official government media to implicate the *pasdaran* in the clashes.

In a Tehran television interview, the head of the *pasdaran* unit at the embassy disassociated the guards from the right-wing *hezbollah* who attacked the rally. He condemned the attacks, as well as attempts to link the *pasdaran* to the *hezbollah*.

He explained that in order to protect the embassy, the *pasdaran* had fired their rifles and tear gas into the air hoping to prevent the incidents from

escalating. At one point, he said, crowds surged towards the embassy, one of the *pasdaran* was disarmed, and the rope protecting the embassy was broken.

Both he and the students suggested that in the future the government provide alternative locations, not so close to the embassy, for other meetings and rallies.

Mostafa Mir Saleen, political and social undersecretary in the Ministry of State and deputy of police, criticized the *pasdaran*'s intervention in the events but confirmed that the *pasdaran* were not involved in the rally attacks.

Mir Saleen said that the Mujahedeen rally had taken place with official permission and had conformed to all regulations. He stated that the clashes were consciously provoked by "organized elements" and called for investigation to identify those involved.

The son of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Ahmad Khomeini, also denounced the violence and called for the immediate arrest and prosecution of the attackers. According to the June 15 *New York Times*, Ahmad Khomeini called the attack "a disgrace to God and a disgrace to Islam."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Socialist paper is legalized

The legal status of *Kargar*, the twice-weekly paper of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Iran (HKE), was reconfirmed by the National Prosecutor's Office on April 29. The statement said:

"The socialist publication *Kargar* is a licensed one. It can be printed and distributed freely. The inclusion of this publication in the list of banned publications was an error by the Public Relations Desk of the Prosecutor's Office."

*Kargar* was, nonetheless, included in a list of forty proscribed publications cited in the Iranian mass circulation press on May 12. This report was used as a pretext for harassing sellers of the paper.

Therefore, *Kargar* reproduced the Prosecutor's Office statement in its May 20 issue with a note that paper sellers could use it to establish their rights if they were taken to an Imam's Committee headquarters.

# N.Y. protest meeting hears West Bank mayor

By Fred Feldman

NEW YORK—Mohammed Milhelm, the elected mayor of Halhoul in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan, addressed a meeting of more than 350 people at Riverside Church June 15. The meeting was sponsored by civil rights, political, and religious organizations.

Milhelm is one of three West Bank mayors who were expelled to Jordan by Israeli authorities, supposedly in retaliation for the killing of six ultra-right-wing Zionist settlers in the West Bank city of Hebron.

The government admits that none of the mayors is a suspect in the deaths.

The expelled mayors were barred from returning, even after the United Nations Security Council voted 14-0, with the U.S. delegate abstaining, that they should be readmitted.

No repressive measures were taken against Zionist settlers and the terrorist gangs associated with them when two Palestinian mayors were maimed and crippled by bombs June 2. Israeli authorities have yet to find the bombers.

The three expelled mayors have been touring the United States.

Milhelm received a standing ovation from most of the audience when he rose to speak. A small group of ultra-right-wing Zionists, chanting, "There is no Palestine," tried to prevent the meeting from proceeding. They were removed.

Those who stayed to listen and participate in the question period that followed included a large number of Jews.

Milhelm described the Zionist rulers as "traitors to the Jews and to the coming generations of Jews." He said

they aimed to clear the West Bank of Palestinians at any cost, including war.

"These people don't serve Judaism, but those who have interests in the Middle East—the big oil interests who shed Arab and Jewish blood to fill their pockets and build their skyscrapers. Why should Jews die to be watchdogs for their interests?"

He gave a vivid picture of the brutality used in expropriating the Palestinians and treating them as foreigners in their own land.

He described the retaliation last year when a few Arab children in Halhoul stoned an Israeli bus, injuring one person. Every adult in the community was rounded up by soldiers and held in a shed for twenty-four hours without food.

A twenty-three-hour curfew was im-

posed for sixteen days, resulting in the ruin of the grape crop, which could not be tended. Windows in ten Palestinian houses were smashed. And two Palestinian youths were killed.

"Is this justice?" Milhelm asked.

"They say six 'worshippers' were killed in the streets in Hebron. Do you know what those 'worshippers' were doing there? They broke into houses and threatened people who live there. They smashed cars. They planted bombs.

"I believe in the coexistence of Arabs and Jews in Palestine," Milhelm said.

In answer to a question, Milhelm declared, "The Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole representative of the people of the West Bank. That is not just me talking. That is what every Palestinian there will tell you. No outsider can come in and tell us we have some other leaders."



# TMI radioactive venting set despite opposition

By Nancy Cole

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission voted unanimously June 12 to okay the venting of radioactive krypton gas from the damaged nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island.

The krypton release, the first step in "cleaning up" the accident that began in March 1979, is scheduled to begin June 28 and to last for two to four weeks.

The decision was made despite the fact that public comments solicited by the NRC from residents of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, area were more than two to one opposed to the venting.

Since the plan was announced earlier this year, Harrisburg residents have protested, showing a well just-

fied distrust of reassurances from an industry and government that swore such an accident could never happen to begin with.

When the NRC report on the venting was released to the public this March, the distrust escalated. The immediate venting scheme is estimated to cost about \$75,000 while other—possibly safer—alternatives could range from \$4 million to \$160 million.

At a public hearing in Middletown, Pennsylvania, on March 19, 500 angry neighbors of the Three Mile Island plant confronted officials, chanting "No release!" and "Keep your krypton!"

It's no surprise that only public officials will be invited to special briefings on the venting procedures this month. The general public will be given one hour, four days before the venting, to phone in questions on a call-in TV program.

In May the antinuclear Union of Concerned Scientists released a report that was headlined in newspapers across the country as a go-ahead for the venting. Suddenly the UCS became "a competent and responsible antinuclear group" in the editorials of papers such as the *New York Times*.

What its reports in fact proposed, UCS head Henry Kendall explained in a June 10 letter to the *Times*, was that the venting not be done immediately and that instead the NRC examine other methods, two of which would require no venting at all.

The UCS believes, Kendall wrote, "that, while the direct biological consequences of the radiation exposure from the proposed venting would be undetec-



Militant/Nancy Cole

Nuclear plant's neighbors protest in Harrisburg March 29

table, considerable public health consequences were nonetheless likely to result because venting would aggravate the documented widespread stress-induced illnesses affecting people living near the plant."

Pennsylvania Gov. Richard Thornburgh, reported the *Harrisburg Patriot*, will issue a pre-release statement urging area residents to "go about their

business normally" during the venting.

Many people reportedly will evacuate from the area during the two- to four-week period. The NRC and Metropolitan Edison, owner of TMI, have spent the past year building up a public record of lies and cover-ups. There is no reason to believe this is any different.

## Labor meeting on safe energy

"A meeting of trade unionists concerned about safe energy and full employment" is scheduled for Toledo, Ohio, on Sunday, June 29.

The meeting is called by the Labor Task Force, which is committed to "educat[ing] working people about the perils of nuclear power and the ready availability of safe, clean energy alternatives."

"The June 29 Toledo meeting promises to be an exciting next step in the development of a substantial labor voice for safe energy, control over energy, and full employment," explains a letter to unionists from Labor Task Force chair Jerry Gordon.

"Education panels will be organized on: presently-available energy alternatives (including coal—mined safely and burned cleanly—conservation and the solar technologies) and the connections between America's mistaken energy policies and the increasing unemployment and loss of control over their lives which American workers are experiencing. A National Labor Conference on Safe Energy and Full Employment in the Fall will be considered."

The meeting will be held from 10 a.m. until about 5 p.m. at the Southwick Ramada Inn, 2340 South Reynolds Road in Toledo. For more information, call (202) 265-7190.

## 15,000 rally in Calif. for 'Survival Sunday'

By Barry Schier

HOLLYWOOD, Calif.—More than 15,000 people gathered at the Hollywood Bowl on May 25 for "Survival Sunday III," a rally and concert sponsored by the Southern California Alliance for Survival. Banners and speakers addressed the event's theme: No nukes! No draft! No war!

The San Onofre Nuclear Generating Station was a particular focus. The huge power plant, located on a beach midway between San Diego

and Los Angeles, sits directly on an active earthquake fault. Two other nuclear reactors, scheduled to be ready by 1982, are under construction next to the one now operating.

A "Stop San Onofre!" rally is planned for June 21 at Laguna Niguel Regional Park.

Speakers at the rally here included Dr. Michio Kaku; Bella Abzug, president of Women, USA; Rev. Jim Lawson, regional vice-president of the Southern Christian

Leadership Conference; Dr. Helen Caldicott, founder of Physicians for Social Responsibility; Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic; John Trudell, International Treaty Council and former head of American Indian Movement; Winona LaDuke, Women of All Red Nations; and Pat Smith from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Music was provided by Holly Near; Steve Goodman; Crosby, Stills, and Nash; Dr. John; Peter Yarrow and Mary Travers; and others.

## Socialist gathering to feature Marxism series

By Barry Sheppard

Socialist education will be one of the major aspects of the week-long conference being organized by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance this summer.

The Socialist Educational and Activists Conference will be held August 2-9 at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. Militant readers are invited to attend all or part of the conference.

A series of five classes is designed for people new to socialism. This series will introduce new people to the ideas contained in some basic works of Marxism, including the *Communist Manifesto* and *Wage Labor and Capital*. There will be ample time for questions and discussion.

Students at the first session of the new SWP Leadership School will teach two class series, based upon their intensive studies of the works of Marx and Engels.

One of these will be a six-part series on basic Marxist strategy and tactics, as Marx and Engels hammered them out through their experiences in the revolutions of 1848-52 in Europe. In delving into the first volumes of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, which are now appearing for the first time in English, the students at the Leadership School have discovered

how much of the present-day strategy of the Marxist movement was formulated in the 1848-52 period.

Some of the subjects that will be dealt with are:

- the national question and the class struggle;
- the necessity for the working class and its allies to break up the old capitalist state and replace it with a workers state;
- the relation between the proletariat and the peasantry;
- the theory of the permanent revolution, which later was to be borne out in the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions, and which is unfolding today in Nicaragua;
- the role of transitional demands;
- the art of insurrection;
- the dead-end of parliamentary cretinism;
- revolutionary war;
- tactics of building a proletarian party;
- defense policy against capitalist frame-ups, the role of police agents and spies; and
- how Marx and Engels utilized a daily revolutionary newspaper they edited in the German revolution of 1848.

The second series to be led by students at the Leadership School will be

based on a soon-to-be-published book by Farrell Dobbs, a long-time leader of the SWP. This series will cover the origins of the American labor and Marxist movements from 1848-1917.

Another series, to be taught by leaders of the SWP and YSA's work in the trade unions, is based on Farrell Dobbs's four-volume history of the Teamsters from the 1934 Minneapolis strikes to the entry of the U.S. into World War II.

These classes will be especially interesting to militants pondering questions of union strategy in the 1980s, which—with the deepening economic crisis, ruling class offensive, and threat of war—will see a new period of class combat as American workers fight back, as they did in the 1930s.

There will be many other interesting classes on the history of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions; aspects of labor, Black, and Chicano history; the origins of the oppression of women; the relation of the struggles of workers in the imperialist countries to the oppressed toilers of the semi-colonies; and many more.

Anyone interested in attending the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference should contact the nearest SWP branch or YSA chapter for further information (see page 23).

## Classes by 2 SWP leaders

A special feature of the Oberlin conference will be two class series by George Breitman and George Novack, long-time leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

George Novack will discuss the ideas of the Hungarian Marxist philosopher and literary critic, Georg Lukács. Writings of the young Lukács dispute certain central tenets of Marxism and have often been utilized to attack it. It is not as well known that Lukács later rejected these early writings. "How Lukács Reversed his Views of Marxist Philosophy" will be the subject of Novack's talks.

George Breitman will give a four-part class on "Chapters from Party and International History in the 1930s." These talks will discuss aspects of the struggle to build a Leninist party here and on a world scale in the face of the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International in that important decade.



# Local steel union officials discuss contract a

By Stu Singer

The economic crisis is dealing blows to the working class and its organizations. Double-digit inflation, plant shutdowns, layoffs, speed-up and productivity drives, weakened union contracts—all these are being imposed on American workers.

There is not yet a massive, organized response to these attacks. But there is growing discussion, especially within the industrial unions, about what is happening and what responses are necessary.

Below are articles from local steelworkers union newspapers. They represent important contributions to this discussion and they should be circulated to unionists throughout the country.

The first is by Alice Peurala, president of Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago. It appeared on the front page of the May issue of '65 News':

At this writing, 1,450 workers are laid off at South Works. Those remaining are working four days. Only a few departments are scheduling five days.

Before steelworkers could think about where to spend the 25 cents raise they got May 1st, the four-day weeks not only wiped out the raise, but actually ended up as a pay cut. Steelworkers were left wondering which bill they can get away with not paying.

Does anyone feel they got a raise? Steelworkers, like most blue collar workers who receive pay raises, are taking a cut in real wages, caused by the 18% inflation and the short work weeks.

## Will it get better?

There is no question that the steel corporations intend to run the mills with fewer workers. This means more crew size cuts, combination of jobs (super-craft), and workers pressured to work at a pace where accidents increase and more workers lose life and limb. Equipment is often broken down

or in such bad shape that crews work with a handicap which affects their incentive and also leads to serious injury.

Some of us remember when South Works employed 12,000. In recent years it has been down to 7,000 and today it is about 5,000. We've heard management would like to run this plant with 3,800 employees. The last few months we've seen 16 plants shut down by U.S. Steel and 13,000 members lose their jobs . . . permanently.

## Proposed solutions

Let's take a look at some of the proposed solutions for declining production and loss of job. At Chrysler workers were asked to bail out a corporation which had proved unable to make a car that anyone wanted to buy.

Chrysler workers got a contract package less than other auto workers. Workers helped to bail out Chrysler by making great sacrifices, but they got no guarantee that their jobs would, in fact, be secure. Putting one union man on Chrysler's board of directors will not guarantee that Chrysler will build a marketable car.

Other examples are U.S. Steel's MacDonald and Ohio Works in Youngstown, Ohio. Both have been permanently closed down by the corporation. Pres. Bob Vasquez of Local 1330 told me in Pittsburgh that they had agreed to cooperate and help Ohio Works make a profit. They worked with short crews, overlooked overtime due, and let slide on many contract provisions. The plant was "turned around"—it made a small profit, and then it was shut down.

It has been the same story with other corporations and other industries. They argue that if workers will only make sacrifices they will save their jobs. This has not proved altogether accurate.

## We have no say

The decisions dealing with capital investment, product research, equipment modernization and efficient man-

agement determine successful production and secure jobs. These decisions the workers have no control over.

Should taxpayers and workers bail out corporations? U.S. Steel, Exxon and other giant corporations have, in fact, frequently chosen not to use profits to improve products in their field, but to invest in totally unrelated enterprises.

In these decisions, too, workers have had no say. Often these investments result in creating multinational corporations and huge profits are made in "foreign lands." How can workers sacrifice to save corporations over whose decisions they have no control.

## What can unions do?

A national conference of all unions, civil rights organizations and women's groups must be called to deal with the question of jobs, inflation and the needs of workers who have been out of work for so long they are no longer

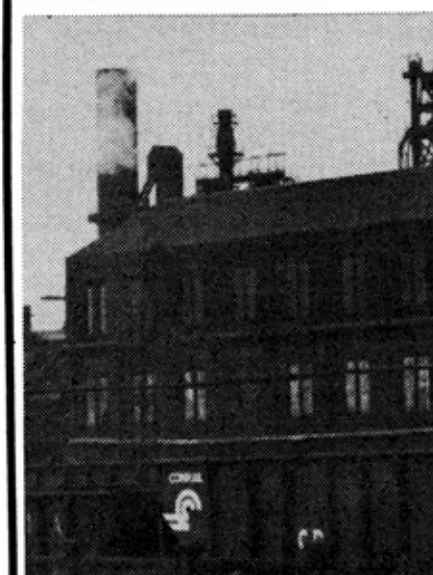
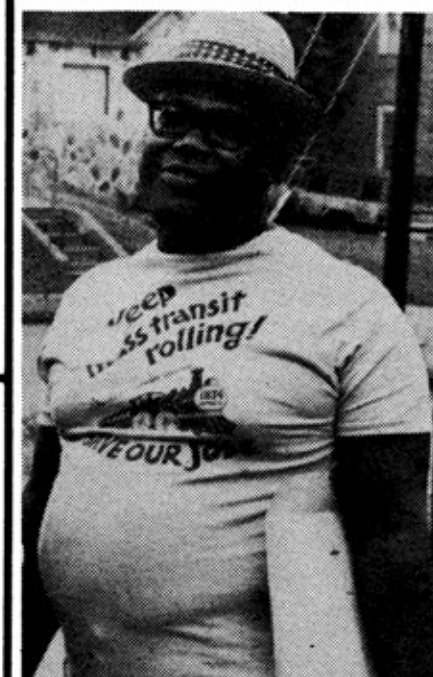
counted in the government statistics.

Our society is certainly in need of commodities that we as workers produce. Our schools and our cities need rebuilding. Why can't we demand that our tax dollars be spent to put people to work to provide for the needs of people?

Should the government continue to spend our tax money on an automobile company that keeps asking for more millions, greater tax breaks, earlier depreciation allowances and stricter tariffs?

Our tax money must be used to provide jobs for workers in our cities where more schools and teachers are needed, housing is needed, recreational areas and parks are needed, and to clean up the neighborhoods and the environment. We need these more than another model of automobile.

These are issues we must begin to think about now . . . to discuss and work toward their solution.



AVONDALE S

ALBERT LOUIS BOSSIER, JR.  
PRESIDENT

May 23,

Dear Fellow Employee:

A group of paid Steelwork literature and union cards. Keep on y traps which commit you to accept memb Membership in this union can obligate y strike calls for causes which you oppos sign a membership card and it does not that getting a little bit of Union is like

Do not rely on rumors. W

Sincerely

Al Bo

## ... Ed Mann

Continued from back page

between Cleveland and Pittsburgh. It includes Youngstown, Campbell, Warren, and Lordstown, the location of the giant General Motors Assembly Plant. It is a heavy industrial area, now being devastated by the economic crisis.

The Youngstown steelworkers have a long reputation for militancy, going

back to the bloody battles to organize the union in 1919 and 1937. Within the Steelworkers union the Youngstown area is known as a champion of union democracy. The area supported the campaign of Ed Sadlowski for USWA president in the February 1977 election.

Now, although they've suffered setbacks and lost thousands of jobs, Youngstown steelworkers are taking a political step forward that sets an example for the entire labor movement.

## ... Avondale

Continued from back page

unions. One worker described Avondale as "a crime against nature."

The effects of company intimidation are obvious. "Be careful who you talk to" is a common refrain in the yard.

Many workers are discouraged by Avondale's past union-busting successes and doubt that a majority will vote for the union. Others think that people have learned from Avondale's tricks and won't fall for them so easily again.

One said that most workers don't want to stick their necks out because they aren't sure the Steelworkers can win, and they don't want to be left holding the bag if the union pulls out.

## Company lies

The company's main argument against the union is the threat of layoffs. It claims that the union will drive up costs, Avondale will have to bid higher on contracts for new ships, and then the company will lose busi-

ness and have to lay people off. Company officials claim layoffs at northern steel plants and at other shipyards were caused by unions.

The truth is that Avondale is making money hand over fist. It could easily pay higher wages without raising prices at all. In 1978 Avondale accounted for 25 percent of sales and 45 percent of the profits of Odgen, its parent corporation.

The company stresses that wages at Newport News under the Steelworkers' contract aren't much different than wages at Avondale. But they are better than the wages Newport News workers made without a contract.

The Newport News contract is a big step forward in other ways. Workers there now have more job security, automatic raises from one job category to the next, and improvements in benefits and working conditions.

Most important, Newport News workers are now in a much better position to fight for further improvements in the future. It's unlikely that the workers in Newport News would

have voted for the contract unless they thought it was a real step forward, whatever its short-comings.

## Advantages of a union

The shortage of construction workers in southern Louisiana has forced Avondale to pay higher wages than a non-union company usually does. Additional pressure from a union could force big wage increases.

Some of the Steelworker-organized plants near Avondale show what a union can do. Starting pay for unskilled new employees at Kaiser Aluminum in Chalmette is about nine dollars an hour, double the starting rate at Avondale.

Kaiser is in no danger of being driven out of business by the union: last year it made the highest annual profit in its history.

Top left, Alice Peurala, president of USWA Local 65 at South Works; below her, a passenger rail production will be ended. Top right, part of letter responding to Avondale Ohio Works in Youngstown, in process of permanent shutdown.



# id economic crisis

The May issue of 'Voice of Local 938' also has several articles on the 1980 steel contract. Steelworkers Local 938 represents over 5,000 miners at the U.S. Steel Linntac taconite (iron ore) mine in Fountain Iron, Minnesota.

The front page article by local President Joe Samargia is titled, 'Business Calls it a Good Contract—LOOK OUT.'

Samargia begins: 'Well, the contract has been settled under E.N.A. O. After all the headlines and press coverage, it's interesting to really look at this contract that [USWA] Vice President Odorich called the best we've ever done and analyze it for what it really is!'

The ENA is the no-strike 'Experimental Negotiating Agreement' the top steelworkers officialdom signed with the companies in 1973. It has covered negotiations

in 1974, 1977, and 1980. In exchange for the no-strike pledge the steel companies promise a 3 percent a year pay hike, cost-of-living provision, and a \$150 bribe to every steelworker every three years.

Samargia compares the new contract to the priority issues decided by the union wage policy committee in December. He shows that of the eleven issues the union decided to emphasize, steelworkers won only pension raises, and these are paid for by working union members, not the companies.

He then goes on to say:

*Business Week* magazine is praising the contract saying that "Labor Cools it with Big Steel," and has agreed on a new concept. This concept is "Labor-management participation teams". Several contracts ago it was called "productivity committees," and now they have changed the name.

The companies are expecting the same taking away to increase productivity, to speed up, to combine jobs and to eliminate absenteeism. The *Wall Street Journal* says that this concept is a joint effort to dampen worker absenteeism and to increase productivity.

We also got a stock option plan. Now that the companies can't sell stock any place else they are going to offer it to their employees, and the International agreed to this.

I voted against the contract for most of the reasons in this article. We all know that this is a difficult year to negotiate because of inflation and the state of the economy. But, to get language changes in areas that would cost the company nothing should have been negotiated. The International couldn't even do that.

We heard during negotiations that the company is really being tough. This is nothing new to us. The companies are tough, but it seems that the International has forgotten that we are tougher.

The International wants the E.N.A. and they are willing to do just about anything to get it. With E.N.A. we will never eliminate Contracting Out; we will never get meaningful Safety and Health language, or a grievance procedure that works.

This is one of the worst contracts that we ever got. They gave us a raise, gave us two pair of safety boots, and now will be pushing us harder for more productivity without any dignity on the job.

Another article in the same issue of 'Voice of Local 938,' by vice-president Ed Walberg, explains further what the union has lost under the ENA:

We lost our bargaining power under E.N.A. negotiations.

If you read any labor history, every big gain the union has ever gotten was because of a strike or the threat of a strike. I don't care if you're talking about medical insurance, pensions, eight hour days, I could go on and on.

There are many, many issues on the table. The company refuses to settle anything that will solve some of our problems.

I guess it's time to "flex" our muscles. If we don't get some of these problems straightened out now, it'll be a long three years.

Let's show them how tough Local 938 is. Tough as nails!!

of workers think it's necessary and vote for it.

Organizing Avondale will not be easy. But Newport News shows that it can be done. When it happens it will be another big step in the historic battle to organize the South. As one worker put it the morning of the literature distribution, "Now we have to go for it."

# Steel notes...

## Steelworkers of Isfahan

The media image of steelworkers coming from the companies and government shows them as overpaid, underworked, greedy, and lazy. When steelworkers have the gall to protest a plant shutdown by seizing company buildings, as was done in Pittsburgh and Youngstown, they are denounced as fanatics and extremists.

There are other steelworkers, whose cause is as just, who are portrayed in the same way. The description of them is no more accurate. These other steelworkers are in Iran.

On May 11, 2,500 workers from the Isfahan Steel Mill demonstrated in the Iranian city of Isfahan.

The steelworkers demanded: "Extradite the traitor shah and return all the wealth stolen by him and his hated family." This is the condition set for freeing the hostages captured in the U.S. embassy.

The Isfahan steelworkers are organized in an Islamic Shora or committee. Since the revolution last year these workers committees have fought to take on a bigger role in politics and running the plants, in addition to union-type functions.

At the May 11 demonstration the Isfahan Shora issued a list of thirteen demands, including the return of the shah. Some others were: "nationalize all foreign and domestic capital; divide the land among the peasants; assure housing for all layers of the country through a government construction program; recognize the right of the shoras to make decisions in all areas; establish a fair wage system; tasks of wage workers should be decided in consultation with their own elected representatives; organize the 20-million-strong people's army."

The American shahs have been getting away with throwing millions out of work, while condemning those who have jobs to coke oven cancer and unnecessary safety risks. As American steelworkers begin to deal in appropriate ways with the American shahs, they will develop a new appreciation of what the Iranians have accomplished so far and what they are trying to do.

## Good example from Down Under

Steelworkers in Australia, organized in the Metal Trades Federation, held mass meetings May 20 to demand a thirty-five hour work week. They debated whether to allow the company to use any overtime at all.

In the past few years there has been increasing action by workers—especially in the steel industry in industrialized capitalist countries such as West Germany, Belgium, France, and now Australia—for a shorter work week with no cut in pay to fight unemployment.

It took decades of struggle to win the forty-hour week. Many major unions in the United States, including the steelworkers, are on record in favor of a shorter work week with no cut in pay. But the fight here has hardly begun.

U.S. companies have been imposing shorter work weeks in many places recently, but they make the workers pay for it. Four days' work for four days' pay is not what the fight for a shorter work week is about.

## Press distortions and more hostages

An Associated Press dispatch that appeared in some newspapers June 10 must have been mistaken about what James Smith, assistant to United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride, said at a Dearborn, Michigan, meeting. AP probably had a cub reporter who mistakenly attributed the statements of a company man to the union representative.

Surely a union spokesperson wouldn't say—as AP quotes Smith—that if you shake the company "money tree" too much you "may just destroy the roots" unless union members and industry management cooperate." The AP report even claimed that Smith "agreed with industry management spokesmen that part of the steel industry's woes are due to harsh federal environmental regulations."

The June 11 *Wall Street Journal* accurately attributed the same kind of thinking to a company source. The *Journal* said that Reynold MacDonald, chairman of Interlake Steel, wants to "negotiate an agreement with the United Steelworkers of America for a lower-than-industry average increase in labor costs during the next three years." If they cannot get the concessions they want from the union, Interlake threatens to close permanently their steel plants in Newport and Wilder, Kentucky.

The *Journal* should have pointed out that Interlake's operating profits for 1979 were \$82.8 million, a 172 percent increase over 1978. Interlake's stockholders divided over \$13 million among themselves last year.

MacDonald and his friends will still be counting their money while steelworkers consider the ransom demand. MacDonald is holding 847 steelworkers hostage at the two Kentucky plants.

Kentucky steelworkers should remember the fate of their brothers and sisters at Chrysler who agreed to the kind of concessions Interlake is demanding. As soon as those auto workers made some concessions, Chrysler and the government demanded more. And with all the concessions, more and more of the Chrysler workers are losing their jobs anyway.

## OSHA and the friends of labor

Joey Rothenberg from USWA Local 2609 at Sparrows Point reports there was a rally of more than 100 at Steelworkers Hall in Baltimore in early May in support of occupational safety and health. The meeting featured speakers from the Maryland AFL-CIO protesting the congressional attempt to destroy the OSHA protection the unions have won.

At least two of the leaders in this blatant attack on the lives and health of workers are senators who owe their seats to labor backing: Republican Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania and Democrat Alan Cranston of California.

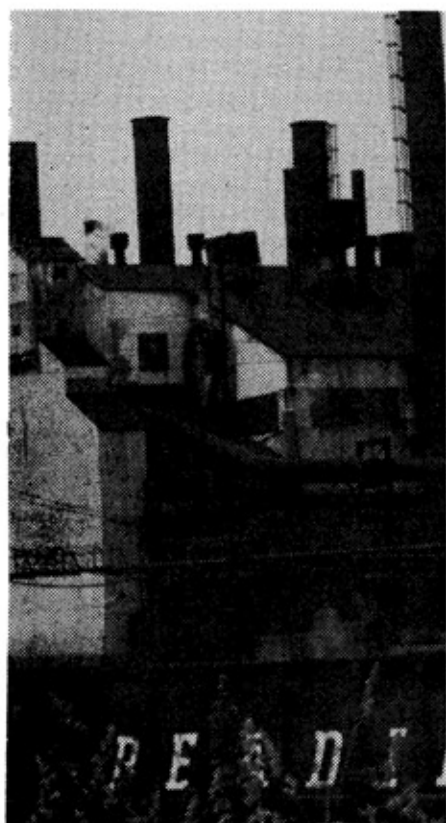
Note: It will be interesting to see which "friend of labor" politicians the USWA leadership will invite to address the union convention in Los Angeles this August.

—Stu Singer

## IPYARDS, INC.

organizers will be distributing toes. These cards are slick slip in this Pittsburgh union. to honor picket lines and Some people feel that they can anything. Remember, tting a little bit of poison ivy.

will keep you fully informed.



Militant photos by Stu Singer  
number of Local 1834 at Pullman, where  
organizing drive. Bottom, U.S. Steel

Avondale uses scare tactics against the union by telling workers that signing the union cards can obligate them to go on strike. This is a lie.

The purpose of the cards is to get a union-representation election in which employees will vote by secret ballot whether they wish to be represented by the Steelworkers.

Once the union is voted in, strikes can take place only when the majority



## 300,000 members laid off

# UAW leaders cling to procompany stance

By Osborne Hart

ANAHEIM, Calif.—The Twenty-Sixth Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers convened and adjourned here the week of June 1-6. It offered little or no hope to the hundreds of thousands of UAW members suffering from unemployment, or to the working members faced with speedup, forced overtime, and worsening conditions on the job.

UAW President Douglas Fraser told the 3,000 delegates that "it's one of the most troublesome periods in the history of our union."

Indeed it is. Slumping auto sales have put more than 300,000 of the UAW's 1.5 million members on indefinite or permanent layoff—more than at the depths of the 1974-75 recession. For untold thousands of those laid-off auto workers there is no prospect of ever getting their jobs back.

Listing the plants closed in the past year—Ford Pico Rivera, Ford Mahwah, Dodge Main, Missouri Truck, Chrysler Lynch Road, and so on—Fraser said, "I wish I could come here with some optimistic news. [But] if you see a light at the end of the tunnel, it is probably an oncoming freight train."

### Plant closings

The anger and frustration that UAW members feel because of the absence of a strategy to preserve jobs found some expression in the discussion on the plant-closing legislation resolution.

Delegate after delegate voiced the anguish that obviously fills their locals. Although the majority supported the weak legislative proposal, some pointed to the need for stronger action.

John McCarrell of Local 544 in Pittsburgh drew shouts of support as he said, "I've seen resolution after resolution, paper talk after paper talk, and still our plants go down. I tell you the time is now. We need action now."

"We need leadership now like we've never had before. We've got to go back to the old ways of John L. Lewis [the former United Mine Workers and CIO president] when they told the bosses that if you don't give us what we want we'll strike."

Fraser responded with platitudes: "What we have heard in the last few hours yesterday and again this morning are stories of human tragedy," he said. "I don't think there is anyone in this union that has been closer to plant closings than I..."

"Hell, if I thought that we could solve this problem by having a massive march on Washington we'll do it every week." He continued, "Despite our frustration, we're going to stand together. This is not the time for the tired or the weary. Truly, if you can't stand the heat, you should really get out of the kitchen, because this is a time to fight."

### 'Eat your Toyota?'

But Fraser announced no march on Washington, nor any fight whatsoever against the job-cutting policies of the U.S. auto companies. Instead, the UAW officialdom used this convention to escalate its racist campaign of blaming layoffs on Japanese imports.

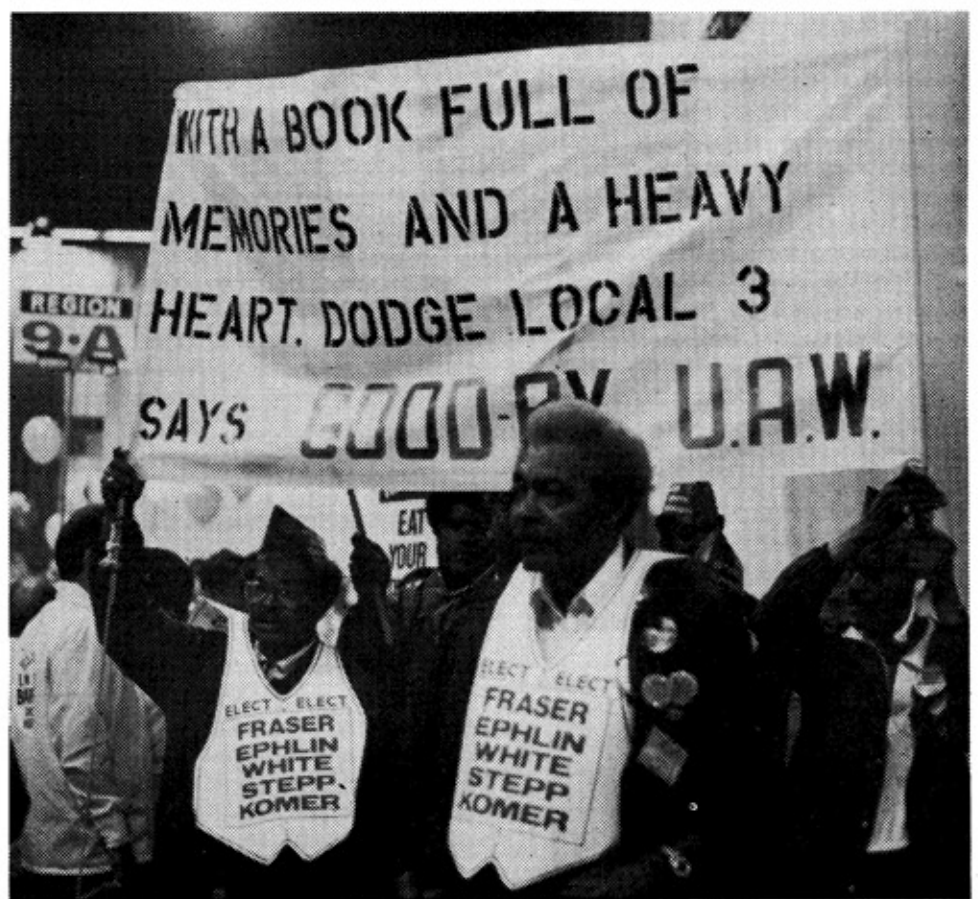
Draped around the convention hall and printed on placards, bumper stickers, and buttons were such slogans as: "Buy an import, lay off a neighbor"; "Hungry? Eat your Toyota"; "Sell here, build here"; and "Free trade must be fair trade."

Fraser charged that the Japanese are doing "permanent damage" to the U.S. auto industry. The damage the U.S. companies are doing to auto workers received little attention. And the plans of the U.S. corporations to revamp the industry and beat foreign competition at the expense of the jobs and wages of UAW members went entirely unnoticed.

Listening to top UAW officials at this convention, one would never know



Fraser, left, told delegates the union faces even harder times. At right, delegates from now-closed Dodge Main plant.



Militant photos by Osborne Hart

that the Carter administration policies have encouraged a deep-going recession that has slashed all car sales, including imports. Demands on the government to aid auto workers were scarcely heard, only demands to aid the auto companies.

In an effort to add legitimacy to the anti-imports campaign, the UAW invited Ichiro Shioji, president of the Japanese Auto Workers, to speak to the convention. The JAW is the largest of the auto unions in Japan, with a membership of 570,000.

Shioji echoed Fraser's demand on Japanese auto manufacturers to build plants here. But no one could pretend such plants will put the laid-off thousands back to work.

### Chrysler board

Fraser's acceptance of cut-rate wages and benefits for Chrysler workers to "save" the company was recently rewarded with a seat for the UAW president on the corporate board of directors. In his remarks to the convention here, Fraser defended his position on the corporate board as a step toward "democratizing the workplace."

Shioji hailed this symbol of union-management collaboration as "the task of today for the trade union movement."

Fraser got further endorsement for participating on the Chrysler board from Michael Harrington, head of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Harrington stated in his speech that he had "no illusions," but "I think that's the beginning of something tremendously important."

No one could point to any gains UAW members at Chrysler have made from Fraser's corporate role.

### 'No choice'

On the political front, Fraser said he will continue to support Sen. Edward Kennedy for president until "the roll is called at the Democratic convention."

He explained, however, "You don't have to be a political genius to know what the outcome is going to be in the Democratic Party convention and the Republican Party convention."

He added that the "choices" for the UAW were the Democrats, the Republicans, Barry Commoner of the Citizens Party, John Anderson, or no one. The international executive board will meet after the Democratic Party convention to decide the union's choice.

One speaker hinted at a different

perspective on labor's options in the electoral arena.

Ed Broadbent, leader of Canada's New Democratic Party, a labor party based on the major industrial unions there, including the Canadian UAW, told the delegates, "We don't say in my country there is no choice between the candidates. We do really have a choice, and we are happy about that."

The concept of a labor party is not new to the UAW. In the president's two-volume report to the convention, several pages are devoted to the UAW's support to the NDP in Canada. Half a dozen labor party resolutions were submitted to the convention, but none made it to the floor for discussion.

Few of the more than 100 resolutions from the locals—ranging from international issues to nationalizing the oil companies to organizing new plants—made it out of committee or onto the floor. The bulk of the resolutions were referred to the international executive board.

The UAW officials, who traditionally pose as champions of major social issues, made no mention of the Black rebellion in Miami. Two resolutions, on civil rights and Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday, were adopted. Aside from a "Social Justice Award" presented to Coretta Scott King, no Black leader spoke before the delegates.

### Changing the guard

This convention was marked by the retirement of four top UAW officers: Emil Mazey, Pat Greathouse, Ken Bannon, and Irving Bluestone. Although the policies of the new leadership—the "Fraser Team"—will remain the same, the marked difference is that the so-called old guard carried some authority from the class battles in which the UAW was founded. The new leadership has no such experience or credentials.

### Crisis

The crisis facing the UAW will not be overcome by the current policies of the leadership—policies that pretend the interests of the companies and auto workers are one and the same.

The anti-import campaign will not save auto jobs. It is a dead end for the union. Faced with high gasoline prices, the majority in this country—including auto workers—are looking for economical, fuel-efficient transportation. Japanese

auto companies are providing it with gas-saving small cars.

The U.S. auto industry will never be the same. U.S. auto makers have every intention of competing with the Japanese capitalists. They plan to build small cars at high profits by reducing the work force, closing plants, and taking back hard-won UAW contract gains. Fraser's anti-import stance leaves auto workers defenseless against this real threat to jobs, wages, and safety.

A prime example is the Chrysler give-back agreement and Fraser's participation on the corporate board.

With plant closings, layoffs, and the possibility of bankruptcy, the situation for Chrysler workers has gotten worse. A banner carried by Local 13 delegates from the defunct Dodge Main plant said, "Good bye UAW." It epitomized the meaning of the Chrysler deal for auto workers.

One of the country's strongest unions, built in militant struggle against the bosses, has been rendered powerless by the procompany strategy of a misleadership.

As Michael Thompson, a delegate from Local 659 in Flint, Michigan, commented to this reporter, "The decline of militancy may have something to do with the predicament we're in."

In reality, the UAW has the power to respond to the crisis. And the solutions needed are no secret. The shorter work-week—thirty hours work for forty hours pay, traditionally part of the union program—would solve the unemployment problem.

Plants the companies refuse to keep open should be nationalized and retooled to provide socially needed transportation.

Safety and union control over plant conditions should be strengthened, not abandoned.

Politically, the answer is not with Kennedy nor any other capitalist politician. A break with the Democrats and Republicans and the formation of a labor party would offer a way to fight politically for the needs of UAW members and the unemployed.

The ranks of the UAW were not represented in the Anaheim convention center. But to change the course of the union to serve the interests of the membership, the ranks will have to take control and use their power against those really responsible for their plight—the auto bosses and capitalist government.



By Frank Lovell

Union newspapers usually reflect the views of union officials and are seldom read by the members. But some are beginning to reflect the economic and social crisis that is disrupting the stability of union-management relations and undermining the complacency of many union officials.

The *Dispatcher*, monthly publication of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, is no exception.

Despite the decline of the maritime industry, the almost total replacement of passenger ships with air travel, ocean shipping is still essential to international trade. Longshore workers remain an important part of the industrial work force. Their unions—the independent ILWU on the Pacific and the AFL-CIO International Longshoremen's Association on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts—are potentially powerful.

The May issue of the *Dispatcher* carried two contrasting reports that reveal the inherent power of the ILWU and the limitations of its present leaders. A third article, in the form of a critical

Here is a heartening example of working-class solidarity. It demonstrates the kind of political strategy and tactics that are necessary for workers to win battles against the employers today. It came about in this instance, as is always the case, by an aroused sector of the working class prompting their official representatives to act quickly and decisively.

ILWU President Jim Herman said, "Our locals acted in the best tradition of the labor movement." This is exactly right.

The political tendency in the labor movement that represents this tradition of working-class solidarity is revolutionary socialism.

\* \* \*

In another Pacific Coast port, longshoremen were engaged in an opposite type action, *not* in the best tradition of the union movement. This was also reported in the May issue of the *Dispatcher*.

The report from Portland, Oregon, said, "ILWU Local 8 longshoremen successfully imposed the

The false theory that some benefits will accrue to the working class if top officials in the union bureaucracy blindly endorse and ballyhoo the foreign policy of the U.S. government has helped bring the union movement to its present vulnerable position.

This practice is not accidental nor isolated. It typifies the conduct of narrow-minded union officials the world over. This is an extension and necessary part of the general policy of class collaboration, the basis of one of the three main political currents in the labor movement. Its name is social democracy.

\* \* \*

In the letters column of the *Dispatcher*, ILWU International President Emeritus Harry Bridges writes his version of what is at stake in Afghanistan, and recommends appropriate action for the union. He criticizes the current ILWU leadership's reactionary stand in opposition to the Soviet intervention.

He describes how the Afghanistan revolution began in 1978, some of the difficulties it encountered, and how the CIA then established headquarters across the border in Pakistan to aid counter-revolutionary forces. Soviet troops moved in to forestall a CIA takeover.

According to Bridges, "The Soviet policy is to carry out the terms of its mutual friendship pact and to guarantee that the revolutionary government is protected from invasion and attack by outside forces."

He recommends that the ILWU "send rank and file delegations to Afghanistan and Iran to bring back the true facts, based on conversations with ordinary people and workers of those countries."

Most of what Bridges writes is entirely correct. The thrust of his letter is against U.S. intervention and opposed to the rightist counterrevolution in Afghanistan. A successful CIA intervention in Afghanistan would also weaken the unions in this country, encourage the anti-union offensive here at home, and bring the world closer to the brink of war. It is therefore necessary for class-conscious workers to side with the Afghan masses and Soviet troops against the CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries.

### Lofty Soviet motives

But Bridges viewpoint is different. He doesn't start from the needs of the working masses in Afghanistan or anywhere else in the world, but from what he portrays as the lofty motives of the Soviet bureaucracy.

But the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union is motivated strictly by narrow self-interest. It does not defend revolutionary working-class initiatives anywhere in the world, least of all in the Soviet Union and on its borders.

During the several decades when Harry Bridges was a nationally known union leader (from 1934 until his recent retirement), he was never able to distinguish between the narrow interests of the Soviet bureaucracy and the needs of the world's poor and downtrodden.

When the military alliance was established during World War II, Bridges enthusiastically endorsed the war and gave up the struggle for wages and working conditions on the waterfront.

And his wartime collaboration with the waterfront employers continued into the post-war period, despite his verbal attacks on the anti-Soviet Cold War policy of the U.S. government.

He was never formally a member of the Communist Party but always seemed firmly to believe that independent working-class struggle should be subordinated to Soviet diplomacy.

This is the essence of Stalinism, a political tendency within the working class that was grafted onto the world-wide class struggle when the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy seized power in the Soviet Union.

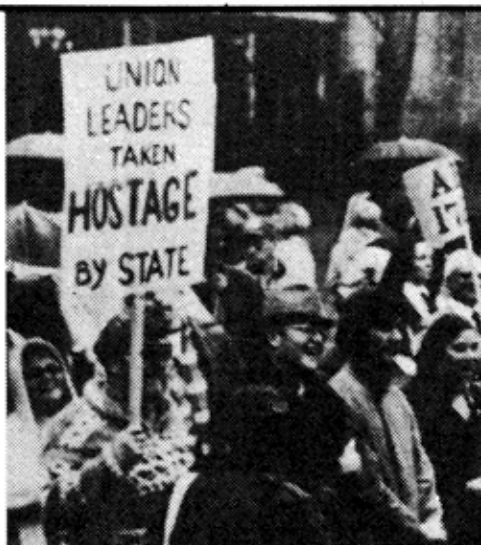
Stalinism is a form of class collaboration and shares with social democracy the dubious distinction of thwarting working-class bids for political power in the major capitalist countries of Europe following World War II.

\* \* \*

It is a rare opportunity to find authentic expressions of these three major political currents in a single issue of a union publication. As political consciousness in the labor movement grows, union members will discover in their own union papers more interesting and useful information about political struggle at home and abroad than can be learned from the distortions and lies of the capitalist press.

It is helpful to know the source and the political tendency of all reports.

# Solidarity Lessons from a union paper



Seattle unions rally to support boatmen's strike

letter from former ILWU President Harry Bridges, also reveals leadership weakness, past and present.

All three pieces have to do with the principle of working-class solidarity, the bedrock of unionism. The widely different political expressions within them exemplify the three major political tendencies in the union movement—revolutionary socialism, social democracy, and Stalinism.

### Inland Boatmen's Union

Ferry boats in Puget Sound are essential links between Seattle and the surrounding area. These boats are operated under state management by members of the Inland Boatmen's Union.

When the union-management contract expired March 31, state officials cunningly provoked a strike. They refused meaningful wage increases and knocked previously won cost-of-living adjustments and the union's comprehensive medical program out of the proposed new contract.

A compliant judge then issued an injunction against the strike. When the strike continued, the judge levied heavy fines against the union and its officers and jailed the officers.

Instead of intimidating other unions, these actions aroused the anger of all workers throughout the area.

In solidarity, the ILWU voted to strike the port of Seattle unless a no-giveback settlement was reached within twenty-four hours and the fines and jail sentences dropped.

The deadline was postponed during two days of seemingly serious negotiations on the part of state officials. But when the state reneged on its promise of amnesty for the IBU and its officials, the port was closed. No cargo moved anywhere on the Seattle waterfront on the morning of April 15.

The decisive action of the ILWU had the support of other major unions, including Teamsters, Machinists, Puget Sound pilots, Marine Engineers, Postal Workers, Public Employees, state AFL-CIO, and King County Central Labor Council.

### State caves in

"By 4 p.m. the State had caved in, and agreed not to press for collection of the fines and to ask [Judge] Corbett to dismiss the contempt action," the *Dispatcher* reported.

The next day members of the IBU voted 531-30 to accept a new three-year contract. IBU President Don Liddle called it "the best improvements we've ever won."

He said, "If the labor movement, and particularly the ILWU, had not come forward when it did, they would have strung us out and broke our backs."

International's boycott on four shiploads of Iran-bound wheat last month."

This was accomplished in collaboration with the management of the Bunge grain elevator in Portland. When one of the ships suspected of loading grain for Iran refused to leave the Bunge dock without cargo, "the manager instructed his employees, who are ILWU Local 8 members, to sever the mooring lines with blow torches and chain saws," the union report said.

### ILWU policy

An official of Local 6 said he had invoked "the International Policy of the ILWU, that no Iranian cargo will be handled until the U.S. hostages in Tehran are released," according to the *Dispatcher*.

This policy is similar to traditional practices of the reactionary and corrupt ILA officialdom on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Longshore unionists in ports from Boston to New Orleans have often been ordered not to load cargo bound for the Soviet Union.

The reason for this has always been to curry favor with anti-union employer groups and anti-Soviet politicians. Several gangs of dock workers may lose a few days pay but that doesn't cost these union officials anything.

The Iranian boycott on the West Coast is not essentially different. The ILWU officials are undertaking to enforce the reactionary edicts of the Carter administration, which only endangers the lives of the hostages in Tehran.

Workers here who really want to win release of the U.S. hostages should identify with the needs of workers in Iran (especially their need of grain imports), and help expose the complicity of the U.S. government in the crimes of the former shah.

Class-conscious workers everywhere demand that the shah be returned to Iran to stand trial for his crimes and that the government of this country return the shah's wealth which was stolen from the Iranian workers.

This is elementary working-class solidarity.

A recent issue of *Local 15 News*, newspaper of the Service Employees International Union local in San Jose, California, offered a different view of the Iran crisis than that found in the ILWU paper. A field representative of the SEIU in San Francisco, who was part of a delegation to Iran, reported back to his union that "the hostage situation could have been settled months ago."

He believes that "the plight of the hostages is being used by the Carter administration to manipulate the political climate in the United States." (See June 13 *Militant*.)



## SWP candidate eyewitness to earlier rebellion

# What So. Korean people are fighting for

By Peter Seidman

SAN JOSE, Calif.—For George Johnson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from California, the battles that swept the cops and troops from the streets of Kwangju, South Korea, were a source of particular inspiration and excitement.

Johnson was stationed in Seoul, the South Korean capital, during 1959 and 1960, when a mass upsurge toppled the Syngman Rhee dictatorship that Washington had installed in 1946.

Johnson was there during the democratic interlude following Rhee's downfall. This was brought to a bloody end when another U.S.-backed coup installed Park Chung Hee. His reign lasted eighteen years, ending with his

assassination last October.

"When the Kwangju uprising occurred," Johnson recalls, "it reminded me of the upheaval against Rhee."

"Those days in Kwangju were the first time there's been even a few days of relative freedom in part of South Korea since the year between the overthrow of Rhee and Park Chung Hee's takeover. The repression has been on the level of Chile or even Iran under the shah."

### Mass demonstrations

"I was stationed in Seoul back then and had Korean friends who demonstrated against Rhee. I sympathized with them and agreed that they had a bum deal. The government was totally corrupt and the police repressive."

The demonstrations, Johnson recounts, were initiated by students. But they grew to include all sectors of the population.

"A tremendous discussion opened up. People were talking about things I'd certainly never thought about back home in Kentucky where I grew up."

Johnson, whose father was a steelworker and teamster, was born in 1935. Before being drafted in 1958, he'd worked for International Harvester and then as a gas station attendant.

He remembered one issue in the discussions of that period that made a particular impression on him. "Any struggles against the dictatorship and for independence from imperialism in South Korea automatically bring up the question of reunification," he explains.

"But it was impossible for the students to raise the question of reunification without discussing what kind of country the unified Korea would be. The northern part of the country—which had been under Soviet occupation after the war—had become a workers' state. The southern half suffered the grip of imperialist exploitation as part of the world capitalist system."

"And everyone knew that the North Korean workers state, while it had made tremendous economic and social progress in rebuilding from the wreckage of the Korean war, was the victim of repression by the Stalinist regime of Kim Il Sung."

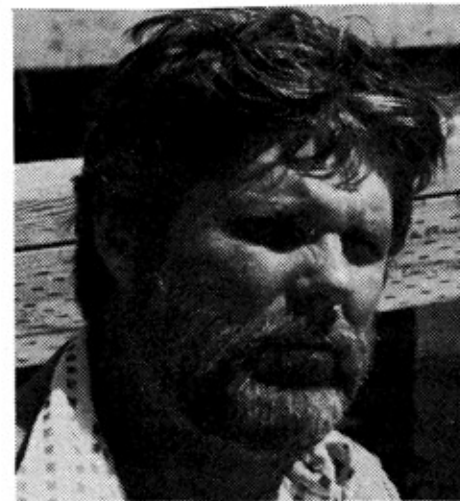
"So the students developed a slogan of their own to explain their attitude toward reunification with the North: 'Social System Yes, Regime No!'"

### Park's coup

Johnson was also in South Korea during the coup by Park in 1961.

"I remember how Washington gave support to the coup after claiming for a few months they were against it," he says. "Just like now, when they pretend to be opposed to Gen. Chon Too Hwan's attempt to crush all unrest."

Johnson speaks bitterly about what he saw after Park took over: "A giant crackdown and stifling of society. I remember the execution of socialists of



George Johnson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California, served in Korea as GI in 1959-60.

all different persuasions, and many others. They'd committed no crime."

Johnson doesn't think the re-occupation of Kwangju will bring things "back to square one" in South Korea.

"It's very clear that the South Korean people are regaining confidence that they can take on the government. They suffered a blow in Kwangju, but the mass movement nationally is far from being crushed. I'm very optimistic the movement will continue."

Johnson helped defend American GIs opposed to the Vietnam War in the late 1960s. In his opinion, the South Korean army is not as reliable as the generals would like.

"I remember how some of those troops rebelled when Syngman Rhee ordered them out against the students," he said. "After all, the Korean army is an army made up of workers and farmers. They have no stake in the dictatorship."

"The biggest obstacle to Korea's freedom and national reunification is the presence of U.S. troops," he insists.

"I'm glad that I can use my campaign for the U.S. Senate to spread these demands far and wide: 'Stop U.S. arms aid to the Korean government! Withdraw all U.S. troops now!'"

## How reporter learned lesson

George Johnson says that his experiences in Korea set him on the road to becoming a socialist.

After being discharged from the service in September 1960 he stayed on in South Korea.

He became a journalist, landing a job as a stringer for *Newsweek's* Tokyo bureau.

But he wasn't able to hold the job for long. Johnson's experiences shed interesting light on the role of the big-business media in Asia. And help underscore the importance of building up the circulation of the *Militant*.

Demonstrations broke out against Park Chung Hee when, under pressure from Washington, he began negotiations to resume diplomatic relations with Japan.

This was a very unpopular move among the Korean people, who had suffered so badly under Japanese military occupation during World War II.

Johnson tried to get out their feelings in his reports. But *Newsweek* wasn't interested.

"My bureau chief came over from Tokyo to fire me," Johnson recalls. "We sat in a bar and he told me, 'I don't know what you have against capitalism, George. It's been very good to me.'"

"This was astounding," Johnson recalls, "since my boss was an alcoholic and it was plain to see that capitalism hadn't been very good for him at all."

That's when Johnson quit journalism and began a study of politics.

He found out about the Socialist Workers Party in 1964, when he came across an article about the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the *Saturday Evening Post*. "I'd always been sympathetic to the Cuban revolution," he recalls, "especially after I'd been to Mexico and seen conditions there."

Johnson joined the SWP in 1968—one year after he'd returned from Asia and began reading the *Militant*, a paper he knew from firsthand experience was telling the truth.

## ...AFL-CIO

Continued from page 3

for a labor party. The arithmetic just isn't there. Support for a third party would just throw the election into the House of Representatives."

### Need for allies

Intermeshed with the discussion of labor's electoral policy was the issue of alliances with women, oppressed minorities, and youth.

Many speakers sharply criticized the record of the AFL-CIO on this question. Justin Ostro said, "We turned off an entire generation of youth because they thought that a war was wrong and improper and we didn't agree. They do not view the labor movement as people or organizations which share the same concerns that they do. . . ."

"What about our sisters? When they decided that they had rights and formed the women's movement. Do you remember our initial reaction? These were the 'women's libbers,' the 'pushy broads.' Some of us even forget that we opposed the Equal Rights Amendment when it was first proposed."

Ruth Miller, president of the Los Angeles chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, said, "If we want a coalition with women, we better clean our own house."

She pointed out that of the 41 million working women, only 7 million are in unions. "If we don't deal with the

problems that women workers face and make them identify with the unions" the labor movement will not be able to forge alliances with the women's movement.

Several speakers talked about the need to join forces with environmentalists. Cass Alvin, a vice-president of the CLF and an official of the Steelworkers, said, "Sometimes we allow employers to put a wedge between us and some of these [environmental] groups. We truly are the environmentalists, not only outside, but inside the workplace."

Louise Goodman of the United Transportation Union Local 100 in Oakland described her local's activities in opposition to nuclear power.

She pointed out that the Democratic senator from California, Alan Cranston, is an author of the bill in Congress to gut the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. "We are very upset that our union is supporting Cranston for re-election."

Barkan's response to the discussion was to reject criticism of the AFL-CIO's past performance and current policy on social issues. "We already have a winning program," he proclaimed, "and we don't have to run to the ADA [Americans for Democratic Action], or Tom Hayden, or anyone else."

"Our program is the same" as it has always been, he said: "Registration! Education! Get out the vote! Collect COPE dollars! This is our winner!"

Barkan blamed what he sees as declining influence of the union officialdom in the Democratic Party on measures that made it possible for more women, minorities, and youth to become delegates to Democratic conventions. He vowed to continue his all-out fight to reverse these measures.

This evoked no enthusiasm from the conference participants.

Barkan was visibly displeased as the free-wheeling exchange of views unfolded.

At one point a delegate at the microphone shook his head in disagreement with Barkan's reply to his question. "Brother, don't shake your head," Barkan snapped.

Henning interjected, "Al, the right to shake one's head is protected in the constitution."

### 'Forum for free thought'

In closing the conference, Henning returned to the importance of hearing all points of view. "We're opening a new door for the labor movement of this state to get your views. . . . We've heard liberal thinking, we've heard conservative thinking, we've heard a little bit of radical thinking. The labor movement should be a forum for free thought."

Stating that "there will be two such conferences annually from now on," Henning declared that another conference would be held in December.

"We're going to keep this going so we

hear your voices," he said. "It's treason to the idea of unionism to say that when a man or woman takes out a [union] card, they surrender their minds to the leadership of the trade union movement. No way. We need more free thinking in the labor movement, we need more expression from the rank and file."

"This federation isn't afraid of the rank and file. There are a lot of organizations that are. We're not. We thank you for being here."

## Labor history and its lessons for today

**Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO** by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$7.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:

**Teamster Rebellion** 192 pp., paper \$4.45

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**The 110-Day Coal Strike: Its Meaning for Working People** by Nancy Cole and Andy Rose. 40 pp., \$7.50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014



## Socialist runs for D.C. City Council

# 'Labor party would rebuild the cities'

The following is based on a speech given by Glenn White at a May 17 socialist campaign rally in Washington, D.C. White is a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and is the Socialist Workers candidate for D.C. city council. He is a member of Amalgamated Transit Workers Local 689.



GLENN WHITE

Militant

Capitalism is destroying the cities. The condition of Washington, D.C., confirms that.

Thousands here are jobless.

According to government figures, 38 percent of D.C.'s Black youth are unemployed!

Condominium conversions mean those who can afford the cost—at \$150,000 or more—are moving back into the cities and forcing those without fat incomes out of their homes and apartments. The government calls it urban renewal. I call it Black and Hispanic removal.

City officials say they have no money to provide new homes for those driven into the streets by condo conversions. Yet a \$33 million convention center is planned so that big business merchants and hotel owners can make more money.

There's a new and modern subway system here: It's got excellent service to the suburbs, but few stops within the city itself. Transportation for city residents was no priority for those who designed this system.

The Senate appropriations subcommittee, which oversees the D.C. budget, mutilated the city's already inadequate \$65 million proposal and approved only \$33 million of the request.

### Cutbacks

The mayor and city council should have announced a march on congress the day those cuts were made. Instead, they're blaming the city cutbacks on the workers and unemployed of D.C. The cutbacks they propose are devastating.

Seven thousand disabled city residents will have public assistance payments eliminated in June.

Hot water will be cut off at health clinics in the Department of Human Resources' residential facilities. The food stamps program will be cut.

Trash collection is going to be reduced to once a week, in a city with an epidemic rat problem. The lead-based paint removal program will be ended. This move alone will take jobs from 125 city workers.

Close to one third of the city's fire fighters will lose their jobs. Forty employees will be cut from the staff of D.C. General Hospital—that's in addition to the eighty that have already been cut. Three thousand other city workers are scheduled to lose their jobs as city departments and services are reduced or eliminated.

So when the city council and Mayor Barry tell us that they can get things done in this city, they mean that they can get things done for the banks, for big business, and for the real estate speculators downtown. They get things done for the rich people of Georgetown and the federal officials.

It's a different story for a metro worker like me, or a fire fighter, construction worker, railworker, or welfare recipient. The only thing they've done for us is done us in.

### Jobless youth

These attacks, and the economic crisis that provokes them, are teaching lessons to a generation of young people who have never had a job. These youth have lived all their lives under the shadow of a mushroom cloud, the threat of nuclear annihilation. Capitalism has brought up a generation of youth whose hopes and aspirations have been deferred, gerrymandered, or destroyed.

Millions of youth who grew up looking for a decent future are fast learning that that day's not coming under American capitalism. But it can come if we organize and fight for it.

Everyone who has an interest in rebuilding the cities, in providing a future for working people and the unemployed, has an interest in joining the fight.

I see my campaign for city council as part of this effort.

An important part of what it's going to take to carry out this fight is what thousands of working people and youth have been doing the last five months. We've taken our demands into the streets. Several thousand antiracist demonstrators did this in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 2. Twenty-five thousand antidraft protesters in D.C. on March 22, 30,000 pro-ERA marchers in Chicago on May 10, and 5,000 jobs protesters here on May 17 did this.

We have to continue these protests.

And we need to take our fight a step further. We need a political party that can lead and organize the fight. We don't have that political tool today. The Democrats and Republicans in the city council, the White House, and the capitol building have made their allegiances quite clear. They don't represent us. We need a party that does.

### Unions must lead fightback

Who can organize such a party?

The unions are the most powerful organizations that we have. The unions have positions on issues like the shorter work week, escalator clauses to keep inflation from eating up our paychecks, the need for more public works and public services rather than fewer, and full employment, that begin to point the way for workers to fight back.

But these positions remain largely on paper because neither of the two big business parties takes these positions today. No Republican or Democratic contender fights for them.

The unions must lead a new party of the labor movement—the unions of the railworkers, metro workers, construction workers, teachers, fire fighters, and public employees here. This party would thrust our union power into the political arena. Through the labor party, our union could fight for workers' interests in this society as a whole in the same way that the unions today can fight for and defend those interests on the job.

And we'd reach out to the unemployed.

Can you imagine what a powerful force for our side a labor party would be?

### Labor party's role

In Washington, D.C., a labor party would be majority Black. It would champion the interests of Black, white

and Hispanic workers in the district.

It would lead the fight against racism and the fight to defend the living standards and democratic rights of all D.C. workers. It would fight for jobs. It would demand an end to the veto power that the federal government now has over every decision of the local city administration.

It would raise funds that could prevent the cutbacks in social services—even expand them—by demanding that the war budget be eliminated. Its slogan would be, "Not one penny for war!"

Tax the corporations and the metropolitan board of trade, not working people, our party would demand. Use this money to improve D.C. General and build more public hospitals, to put more teachers to work, to open child

care centers, the labor candidates would urge.

This is how a labor party would lead the fight to rebuild the cities.

As the Socialist Workers candidate for city council, I am campaigning for this perspective. I run for office to speak out for the interests of the other D.C. that doesn't make the national headlines. The D.C. of working people and the oppressed who want to save our jobs and our city from the attacks being carried out by the Democratic and Republican politicians as they advance the aims of the big business profiteers.

I intend to use the resources of my campaign, and every platform I am offered, to promote the discussion of a labor party and its formation now, as the step that we must take to successfully challenge these attacks.

## White supports CWA strikers

By Toba Singer

As Glenn White stepped out of his car, several picketing telephone workers rushed over to welcome him. White had come to support the May 13 picket line of the Communication Workers of America, Local 2323 in Northern Virginia. More than 500 members of 2323 walked out that day to protest the firing of Martha Bussett, C&P Telephone co-worker.

Spotting the "J.P. Stevens Boycott" bumper sticker on White's car, one of the picketers shouted:

"The J.P. Stevens people are here!" (The J.P. Stevens Boycott is part of an effort to organize southern textile workers.)

White, a D.C. Metro worker, explained that he is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. City Council and had come to find out why Bussett was fired and how his campaign could help get word out about the walkout.

"Martha was an installer—like me," said one young woman as she took a copy of the *Militant* and began to leaf through it.

"They kept a book on her because they're trying to get rid of women installers. That's really why they fired her."

Bussett was fired after she

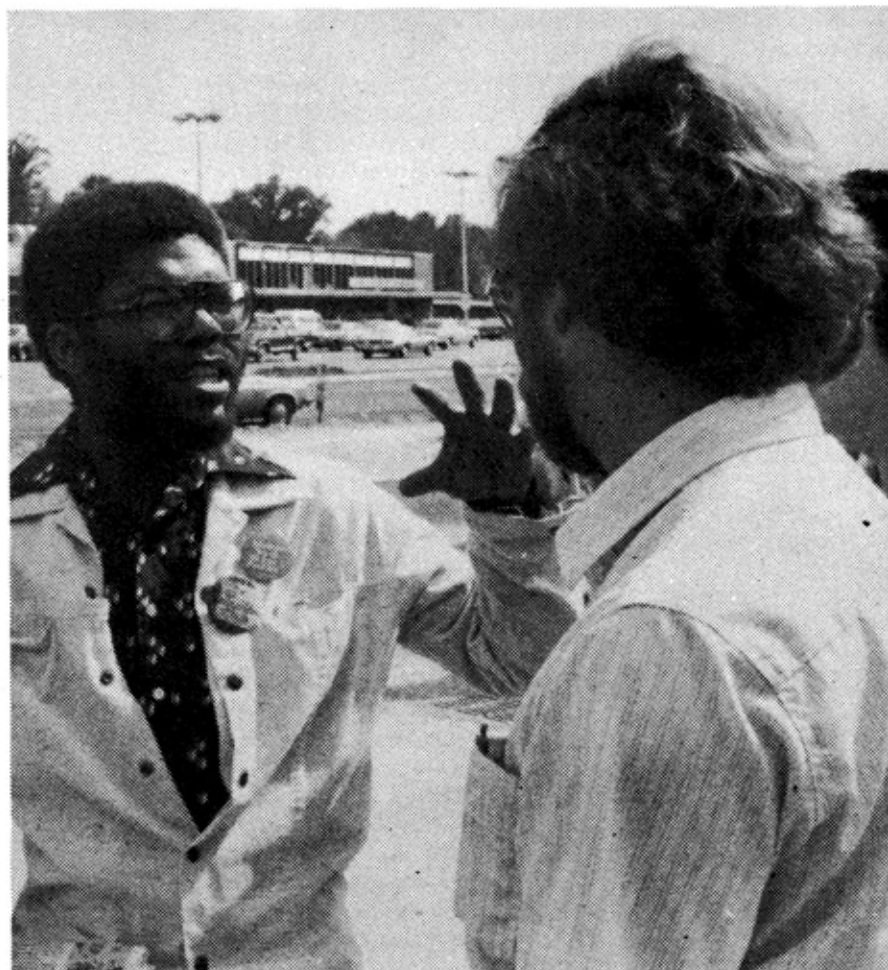
pressed charges against C&P for abduction and breaking and entering. According to Bussett, company guards, claiming they had a gun, forced her to lead them to her home in a company car in search of an illegal phone. No illegal phone was found; none had ever existed.

Angry co-workers walked off their jobs May 13 when they heard the news, then picketed at C&P's major Northern Virginia facilities. A rally of 300 at the main office the next day demanded Bussett's reinstatement.

On May 14, the company agreed to rehire Bussett but refused to honor the union's demand that there be no reprisals against the strikers. The union turned down the company's offer and on May 16, the company won an injunction forcing the strikers back to work.

At its local meeting on May 20, CWA Local 2336, a sister local in Washington, D.C., representing more than 3,500 workers, unanimously voted to demand that C&P reinstate Martha Bussett and not victimize the striking workers.

"Acts of solidarity like this one are just what is needed to fight back against injustices such as the outrageous victimization of Martha Bussett," said Glenn White.



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

White talks with picketing CWA workers in D.C.



## SWP candidate tours Illinois

# 'It's time we had someone represent workers'

By Jim Garrison

Lee Artz, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, took his campaign on the road in the last week of May.

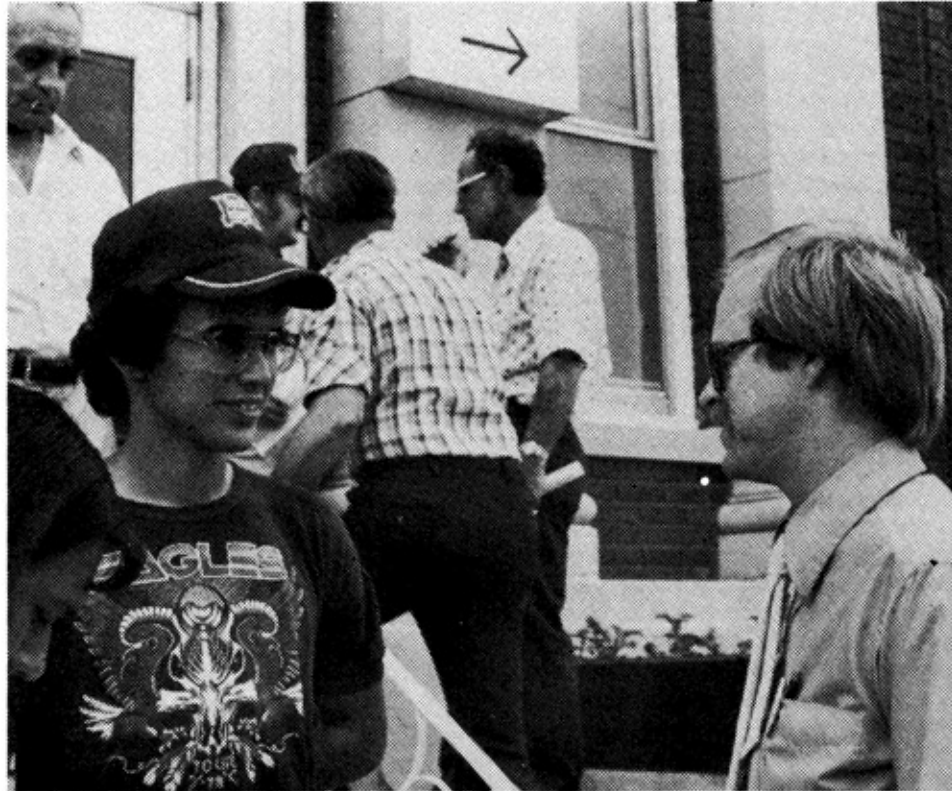
Artz met steelworkers in East St. Louis, miners in Sesser, railroad workers in Silvis, and other working people in industrial towns and cities around the state.

"This was something new for us," Artz explained. "We went to places where the SWP had never sent candidates before and where people had not known about us. But we got a very warm reception everywhere we went."

A young mine worker stopped his motorcycle outside the mine in Mecco, Illinois, to talk with Artz about the campaign.

Artz explained that he is a socialist steelworker running for senate and that he believes more workers should run for office to represent the interests of labor.

"We talked for ten minutes about my candidacy, my opposition to nuclear



Lee Artz, right, SWP senatorial candidate in Illinois, talks with laid-off Rock Island rail workers on steps of Silvis, Illinois, city hall.

power, and about using coal as an alternative. I found that many miners agreed with me. They agreed not only on what needs to be done but how to do it—by forming a labor party," Artz told the *Militant*.

The young miner ended the conversation saying "You've got my vote and I'm pretty hard to please. But I think it's time we had someone in office to represent workers."

Rock Island

### Rock Island

Artz went from Mecco to Silvis, a railroad town hard hit by unemployment. Many former workers on the

Rock Island railroad live there—and collect their unemployment checks at city hall, just across the street from the main yard of the Rock Island Line.

The railroad's bosses recently declared bankruptcy. The future of the rail line is now being debated in the courts.

John Monzon was one railworker Artz spoke with outside city hall. Monzon was a machine repairman for Rock Island. He's married and has two children. He receives \$125 a week in unemployment compensation.

Monzon pointed across the street to the 1,200 grain cars he'd just helped repair and the 200 brand new locomotives. They will remain unused with the Rock Island closed down.

"We talked about the SWP's call for

nationalizing the railroads and having the unions oversee their operations—where the financial books would be open to public view," said Artz.

Monzon is originally from Mexico. His brother works on the nationalized railroad in that country. "In Mexico the railroads are safer and run better than in this country," Monzon said. "But the government running the railroads doesn't represent the workers. So I like your ideas about the unions controlling the railroad."

Monzon doesn't have any immediate work prospects—work is hard to find. The John Deere plant in nearby Moline laid off 800 workers the week before.

Monzon signed up as a supporter of the Socialist Workers campaign.

"We had campaign supporters out circulating petitions to put us on the ballot in downtown Galesburg one day," Artz said. "I met everyone who signed the petition and gave them our campaign literature. People signed up because we are a good alternative, not only because they support our right to be on the ballot." They signed the petitions at a rate of nearly one every minute.

From Galesburg, Artz travelled south to the big steel plants located across the Mississippi River from St. Louis. At American Steel, one of the largest steel foundries in the U.S., Artz joined Martin Anderson, SWP candidate for Missouri governor, in meeting workers at the plant gate. Anderson works at American Steel and, like all the others there, has had his paycheck and work week cut back.

### 'We could be next'

While Artz was petitioning in downtown East St. Louis, a Black man stopped to sign and talk. "At the plant where I work," he told Artz. "we were talking about the economy and all the layoffs. We figure we're pretty well off because we're working and making good money. But the thing is, we don't know what's coming in the future. There were layoffs at work and we could be next." As for Carter, he said, "When he talks about inflation it just means there'll be more of it."

Near the end of the week, Artz and two campaign supporters went east, into the coal mining region of southern Illinois. They were joined by a young woman coal miner who supports the campaign.

"The miners really snapped up our brochures calling for an end to nuclear power and for using coal instead," said Artz. "One miner told me that he'd

always opposed nuclear power because he wants to protect his job. But then he decided to study the question, to find out more facts."

The miner told Artz, "I read up on the dangers of nuclear power and thought about all I've worked for. I have a son in college. All it would take would be a train derailment with this nuclear waste and it would be over. You don't know 'til it happens and then it's too late. You don't know because they don't tell you anything."

### UMWA under attack

The coal operators in southern Illinois launched a major attack against the United Mine Workers union when they announced that the big new MAPCO mine near Carmi, Illinois, will open non-union. Illinois has been solidly UMWA since the union organized the coal field decades ago. The UMWA is mounting a campaign to organize the MAPCO workers.

Tom Wallace is the head of the union safety committee of one of the largest UMWA locals in Illinois, Local 9111, at Freeman-United's Orient Mine Number 3. He told Artz about an organizing rally he had helped to put together at the MAPCO mine a week earlier.

"We brought 800 UMWA members out to MAPCO for the rally," Wallace said. "We'll have more rallies like this involving locals from all over the region. I can tell you that no coal is going to be mined in Illinois unless it's mined by United Mine Workers."

"Workers at MAPCO were afraid to come out for the union at the rally," Wallace said. "But when I got home that night, I got four phone calls from MAPCO miners to find out how they can get their mine organized."

"The unions have always had power, the question is if they will use it. We need to stop looking to D.C. and begging politicians to protect us. If construction workers were against nuclear power, they could end it by refusing to build the plants."

The week ended with a campaign rally at the SWP headquarters in St. Louis. Then Lee Artz had to return home to Chicago—back to punch the clock at work Monday morning. But by the end of the week Artz had taken his campaign to eight cities and gained new support for his candidacy from Rock Island to Carbondale.

## Petition drive progress

### Wisconsin

Socialist Workers campaign supporters in Wisconsin are making a big push to invite those they meet during this week's petitioning to attend the June 22 Militant Forum in Milwaukee. The forum will feature a report on the Miami Black rebellion (7 p.m., 3901 N. Twenty-seventh St. For information call 414-445-2076).

Wisconsin campaign supporters have collected 6,000 signatures so far in their drive to put the SWP presidential slate of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, senatorial candidate Sue Hagen, and congressional candidates Lynn Rashkind and Frank Forrester on the state ballot in 1980.

Six thousand signatures are needed for the socialist candidates to qualify for ballot status. Campaign supporters plan to continue the drive and substantially surpass the requirement.

Senatorial candidate Sue Hagen reports that every petition signer is getting a leaflet summarizing the SWP campaign platform.

### Texas

Texas socialists took full advantage of their recently completed petition drive to introduce thousands of Texans to the program of the Socialist Workers Party candidates.

By the end of the four-week drive, more than 40,000 people—many more than the 24,000 required—had signed petitions to place Pulley, Zimmermann, and Texas SWP candi-

dates on the ballot. Representing the SWP in Texas are congressional candidates Lea Sherman, Fifth C.D., Dallas; Arturo Ramirez, Eighteenth C.D., Houston; Laura Garza, Twenty-third C.D., San Antonio; and John Sarge, candidate for Texas railroad commissioner.

Scores also signed up as Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. More than 100 new endorsers were won to the campaign in Houston alone.

A twenty-four-year-old Teamster in Dallas joined the Young Socialist Alliance during the drive and became one of the top petitioners.

"It hasn't been uncommon for working people to sign our petitions because they believe it is the democratic right of anyone to run for office," explained railroad commissioner candidate John Sarge, a steelworker at Hughes Tool Company.

"But this time an even greater number signed because they wanted to see a socialist on the ballot and because they were impressed to see a Black steelworker running for president."

### Pennsylvania

Socialists in Pennsylvania have finished a successful four-week drive to get the socialist presidential ticket on the ballot, reports Jay Johnson.

Sixty-five thousand signatures were collected in that drive. The state requires 48,000. Campaign supporters are now busy doing the paper work that will prepare the petitions for filing later this summer.

## SWP wins N.C. ballot spot!

On June 17 the North Carolina Board of Elections approved ballot status for Socialist Workers Party candidates in the November election.

Douglas Cooper, SWP candidate for governor of North Carolina, called the decision a "victory for all working people." It means, Cooper said, that "North Carolinians will have an alternative on the ballot to the antilabor, union-busting parties of big business: the Democrats and Republicans."

The SWP collected well over the 10,000 signatures required by state law. Cooper explained the ballot victory was won "despite obstacles placed in our way by state officials, such as exorbitant filing fees and attempts to get some of those who signed our petitions to remove their names."



By William Gottlieb  
(seventh of a series)

What inflation means to most of us is that every week our paycheck will buy less. Prices go up with no end in sight. People talk about the "shrinking" dollar.

This inflation is not due to any shortage of commodities on the market. To the contrary, it takes place in the midst of a worldwide *crisis of overproduction*. As we've seen in earlier articles, this is the underlying sickness of the capitalist economy. It can be summed up this way:

The capitalists cannot sell their commodities at prices that will bring them profits they consider high enough. Consumers may need these commodities, but we don't have the money to pay. The capitalists can't find enough profitable opportunities to invest the billions they have accumulated in past profits. Who is going to go out and build a new auto assembly plant or steel mill today? Instead, as stockpiles of unsold goods rapidly mount, the employers are cutting production, closing plants, and laying off hundreds of thousands of workers.

### What is money?

To see how this overproduction crisis is responsible for double-digit inflation, we have to take a closer look at what money really is.

The government likes to tell us that money is its paper currency—dollar bills—the "legal tender" issued by the Federal Reserve Board. But just as the government can't be believed on the subjects of Vietnam, Iran, or Cuba, it can't be believed on the subject of money.

In a capitalist economy, where there is no overall plan, there is no way that a capitalist can know beforehand whether his production is socially necessary—is too much, too little, or just the right amount. He finds out only by putting it on the market and seeing whether it will sell and bring him at least the average profit rate.

Sell it for what? For money, of course.

But if the government's paper currency is actually money, couldn't the government guarantee the sale of all products at a profit—eliminating the very possibility of overproduction crises—simply by issuing enough of its "legal tender"?

But if sale and profit were guaranteed, how could production bear any relation at all to the needs of society? How could the necessary proportions between the different branches of production be main-

# As dollar shrinks, what is money?



Gold bars, paper currency



tained? They could not be.

For this reason money can't be paper issued by a government or a bank. It must be a commodity in its own right, a product of human labor, with real value.

### Gold standard

Over thousands of years of trade and markets, the precious metal gold has emerged as the *money commodity*. Because a great amount of human labor yields only a small amount of gold, gold contains a great amount of value in a physically small amount of its substance. Gold can be easily divided, melted down, and coined. It doesn't rust or decay over time. These qualities make gold an ideal money commodity.

Currency issued by a government or bank can function as money only so long as it can be exchanged for *real money*, that is, gold. Currency that is redeemable for a fixed amount of gold is called convertible currency. This system is known as the gold standard.

For most of its history the United States has been on a gold standard (sometimes a modified one). Before 1933 you could go to a bank and exchange about twenty dollars of U.S. currency for one ounce of gold. For most of the time since 1934 the exchange rate has been thirty-five dollars for one ounce of gold. (From 1934 until 1975 private individuals could not legally exchange dollars for gold, although governments could and capitalists could certainly find ways to.)

It may be thought that if currency is not convertible it has no connection with gold. This is not true. Non-convertible paper currency can still be "cashed in" for gold, but only on the open market. This is the case with U.S. dollars today. So the gold value of the currency (that is, the amount of money it actually represents) will vary on a day-to-day and even hour-to-hour basis. When you hear that on a

given day the "price of gold" is \$500 an ounce, that simply means a dollar is worth one five-hundredth of an ounce of gold.

Normally the capitalists will want to maintain a gold standard, that is, keep the currency convertible into gold at a fixed rate of exchange. Only under such a system can capitalist profits be reliably measured, contracts be relatively stable, and domestic and world trade be kept on a sound basis (for the capitalists). However, a gold standard can be maintained only when demand for gold is relatively low. Otherwise the gold reserves of the government would be quickly depleted as the government or central bank was forced to pay out gold in exchange for its currency.

### Gold & business cycle

So long as production is profitable for the bosses, they will not want to hold onto great amounts of gold, and demand for it will indeed be low. The reason is that gold merely *conserves* or *hoards* value. It doesn't create any new value. But the bosses are not interested in simply conserving their wealth, they are interested in enriching themselves.

(We can leave out of account the profits some capitalists make by speculating on the gold market. Here they are only gambling against each other. Every dollar that one capitalist makes speculating is a dollar taken from the pocket of another. No creation of new value is involved. New value is created, and the capitalist class as a whole enriches itself, only through investment in human labor power producing commodities.)

When a crisis of overproduction hits, however, all this is turned inside out. Suddenly the capitalists don't see a chance to make profits by producing more commodities. They are instead mainly interested in avoiding *losses*, pushing them onto other shoulders—mainly the workers and farmers, but each other as well. Under these conditions demand for gold will tend to soar. What happens then?

During the boom phase of the business cycle, preceding the overproduction crisis, a greater supply of money is needed for buying and selling the increased production of goods (as well as for speculation by the capitalists and other socially useless pursuits).

### Expansion of credit

As a general rule this increased need for means of exchange cannot and will not be met by mining

more gold. It will be met mainly by expansion of *credit* by the banks, through loans to businesses and consumers. In making these loans the banks are *creating* checking account balances that function as money.

Even under a gold standard, this expansion of credit during the boom stretches or weakens the tie between real money—gold—and the tokens of money such as currency and checking account balances. But a boom is on. Permanent prosperity seems the order of the day. The bankers hope the loans will be repaid—and anyway, competition among the bankers forces them to expand loans to the limits of their ability.

Then the crisis hits.

Demand for gold rises sharply as the capitalists seek to cut their losses and conserve their riches. They want "hard money"—gold—in the hand, not shaky promises of future payment.

Under a gold standard, this forces the government and central bank to reduce the supply of money outstanding in the form of bank reserves and checking accounts. They do so by following a tight money policy, as described in earlier articles. Only in this way can the gold convertibility of the currency be safeguarded.

The tightening of credit, however, contributes to chain-reaction bankruptcies and bank failures, a phenomenon known as *deflation*. The collapse of credit further plunges the economy into depression. But it also lowers prices.

### Paper money

Under a non-convertible paper money system, on the other hand, the government and central bank are relieved of the responsibility of redeeming their currency in gold. There is no legal requirement that they must reduce the amount of bank reserves and checking account balances when demand for gold increases.

During the post-World War II capitalist expansion, this explosion of credit and avoidance of deflation seemed to make it possible to avert depressions. But as worldwide overproduction has deepened since the late 1960s, the capitalists have increasingly exchanged their dollars for real money, gold. And the paper dollar's tremendous *loss of real value* has caught up with U.S. capitalism. How this worked out in practice will be taken up in the next article.



# Their Government

## Why they want to kill Jack Potts

Jack Potts is scheduled to be electrocuted sometime soon in Georgia. This would make him the fourth person put to death since the Supreme Court gave the go-ahead to the executioners three years ago.

After changing his mind twice in recent weeks, Potts asked his lawyers to drop an appeal against the death penalty imposed on him in 1975. On June 10, a Georgia court lifted the stay of execution it had ordered.

Potts says he wants to get it over with.

To hear the media tell it, he is being executed at his own request. He's really only exercising his "right to die."

According to an editorial in the June 15 *New York Times*, Potts's case shows that capital punishment is really not so bad. (The *Times* is officially opposed to it.)

The editorial notes that, among recent death penalty victims, Gary Gilmore and Jesse Bishop also gave up the fight against their executioners.

The case of John Spinklink, who fought for his life to the end, is not mentioned.

The *Times* concludes that the death penalty in these instances is not really very arbitrary or cruel or unusual since the convicts "wish for it."

Even one of Potts's attorneys got sucked into the hoopla for this "civil liberty"—the right to be electrocuted, gassed, hung, or shot by the government.

He said, "We are willing to accept [Potts'] decision about what he wants to do with his life."

A lot of choice Jack Potts has had about that! Potts explained his action differently: "Why should a man have to sit on death row maybe eight or nine years when he's convicted and sentenced and then still possibly be executed nine years later?"

According to the June 11 *New York Times*, he also cited "intolerable prison conditions" as a reason for dropping his appeal.

The truth is that Jack Potts's decision was made under intense psychological pressure. For five years he has been forced to live in the death row of a Georgia prison with impending execution staring him in the face. The brutalization involved is almost beyond the imagination of anyone who has not experienced it.

Jack Potts was brought to the point where he is willing to submit to the government's desire to kill him.

Of course, the "choice" given Jack Potts is available only to poor people. The rich don't suffer the death penalty, don't sit on death row, and don't rot in prison.

Jack Potts has about as much "free choice" as the millions of poor people who get caught every year in the human meatgrinder of a stacked legal system.

The philosophizing in the *Times* about Potts's case is nothing more than an attempt to make legal murder more palatable.

The death penalty is a weapon in the hands of the rich and their government against working people. They need it as part of their policy of imposing austerity and building up the war machine.

## Fred Feldman



That requires cutting back on democratic rights. It means cowering and terrorizing working people, Blacks, women, and youth who might rebel against austerity and war.

It means, for instance, upholding the power of cops to kill Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans at whim, as in Miami.

The death penalty is the ultimate weapon in the repressive arsenal of the ruling class.

Its use against the labor movement was typified by the Haymarket frame-up against fighters for a shorter work week in the 1880s, and by the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927.

Blacks and Hispanics predominate in the nation's death rows. The death penalty is a racist weapon against their communities.

It has nothing to do with preventing crime or with punishing criminals. It is aimed by the system that produces crime against the victims of that system.

Relatively isolated individuals like Jack Potts and Gary Gilmore (all white, so far) were selected as victims to soften us up for the broader use of this barbaric punishment.

It's easy to understand Jack Potts's feelings in the light of the treatment he has received. But the working people of this country have a deep stake in blocking the execution of Potts and everyone else on death row.

Fighting the death penalty is part of defending the democratic rights of every working person.

Abolish the death penalty!

## Union Talk

### Contract no cure for coke oven cancer

Coke, the almost pure carbon product left after baking coal at high temperatures, is a key ingredient in producing steel. Cancer-causing chemicals are released in the process of making coke. About 22,000 workers, mostly members of the United Steelworkers union, are involved in this dangerous and difficult job.

Most coke is produced in the large basic steel mill complexes where workers are covered under the basic steel contract.

After a long fight by steelworker union activists, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) set new standards for coke oven safety. The coke ovens were supposed to meet these standards by last January. Very few have been brought into compliance so far.

Instead of spending the relatively small amounts of money required, the steel industry has spent millions fighting against these standards in court. They are attacking all safety and environmental controls on their operations. Reducing safety and environmental restrictions is a major part of the industry program for greater profits.

The Steelworkers union leadership agrees that steel industry profits require union support for import restrictions and tax breaks. Support on these issues helps the industry argue against safety and environmental restrictions, even though the union does not endorse those company demands.

This was proven in the recent basic steel contract, where union officials acknowledged that concessions were made because of the "economic health" of the companies.

Concern for the economic health of the companies goes against the physical health of steelworkers and residents of communities near steel plants:

The failure to win improvements in coke oven and other safety concerns will be paid in the blood and shortened lives of steelworker union members. A study in the early 1970s showed that workers with five years experience on top of the coke ovens have a lung cancer rate ten times higher than steelworkers in general.

The following two articles were written by coke oven workers at U.S. Steel's giant Gary Works complex in Gary, Indiana, and at the Fairless Works outside Philadelphia.

Readers who are interested in learning more about coke ovens should get the May-June issue of *Science for the People*. The cost is \$1.50 and the address is 897 Main St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. The article "Coke Oven Cancer" by Joel Schwartz



Coke ovens

gives useful information on the price in workers' lives being paid for this aspect of steel industry greed.

—Stu Singer

GARY, Ind.—Coke plant workers at U.S. Steel's Gary Works did not expect many improvements in their working conditions as a result of the recently negotiated basic steel contract or the local agreements. Their low expectations were accurate.

The basic steel agreement ignored the questions concerning coke oven conditions entirely. The local agreement between Gary Works management and United Steelworkers Local 1014 contained a rebuff to the modest improvements in health and safety conditions pressed by the Local 1014 negotiators.

The most crucial problem coke oven workers face is regular exposure to coke oven emissions. These cause skin, lung, kidney, and bladder cancer through skin absorption and inhalation. Ingestion causes stomach cancer. While respirators can help reduce inhalation and ingestion, workers' exposure must be minimized.

Three main demands have been raised by coke oven workers in this regard. One is for early retirement after a maximum of twenty-five years on the job ("25 and out").

This demand was not met, nor was any progress on it reported by USWA leaders.

The second major demand is for a system of relief during the working turn. Such a system might mean four hours on and four hours off as our local proposed. USWA Local 1010 members at the Inland Steel coke plant have won this concession to some degree. Local 1014 negotiators reported the issue was tabled, to be decided by August 1. But taking it

out of the body of other local issues does not strengthen our position.

The remaining demand is for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay. No progress has been made yet on this key question.

While many coke plant workers at Gary Works are furious at the lack of progress, general reaction is that we are lucky to escape without major losses of what we won in the past.

—Mitch Rosenberg

PHILADELPHIA—In recent years more and more facts have come to light about the health and safety hazards faced by coke oven workers.

OSHA statistics indicate, for example, that coke oven workers are 7.5 times as likely to contract kidney cancer as the rest of the population, 2.5 times as likely to get lung cancer, and substantially more likely to get skin cancer or cancer of the digestive tract.

Because of this, many workers were hoping that the new contract would include a provision for retirement from coke works after 25 years of service ("25 and out"), rather than 30 years, which has been the rule for the industry.

That this is necessary and important was illustrated to me by the fact that in my gang not a single worker has retired in good health since the plant opened in 1953. If workers are to have the opportunity to enjoy their retirement, "25 and out" is a must.

But despite letters from coke oven workers and union representatives from around the country, early retirement from coke works is not provided by the new contract. As my local president put it, "The industry just wasn't willing to even discuss '25 and out' for the coke workers."

At my local meeting in late April, the membership authorized the executive board to take a strike vote if local issues now being negotiated are not resolved. The president explained that it gives us added leverage in negotiations to use the threat of a strike.

As I see it, the same also holds true on a national level. If steelworkers had the right to strike nationally, maybe "25 and out" would be a reality for coke oven workers this summer. And maybe some of my co-workers would have a chance to leave the plant now, in a car, instead of years from now, in the back of an ambulance or hearse.

—A coke oven worker





**Eggsactly right**—We were reassured by the finding of the Food and Nutrition Board that eggs and other high-cholesterol foods don't lead to heart trouble. At least five members of the study panel, which advises the government on nutritional matters, are obviously knowledgeable since they are also in the employ of the food industry. In fact, the scientist who wrote the report is a consultant and adviser to the American Egg Board.

**Is nothing sacred?**—Unscrupulous counterfeiters have been flooding the market with jeans bearing fake labels. Thousands of pairs were confiscated in

Atlanta, bearing the Calvin Klein label but selling for 50 percent less. Experts can hardly detect the difference.

**Humanitarian indeed**—It may have seemed like a cold-blooded outrage when the United States voted against a UN resolution condemning an Israeli terrorist bomb attack on West Bank Palestinian mayors. One mayor lost a foot and one lost both legs. But now, in what a White House spokesperson described as a "humanitarian gesture," American medical treatment was offered the two victims.

**Sounds reasonable**—"Candidates

are product of system," headline on a *Milwaukee Journal* election think piece.

**Alas!**—The *New York Times* society page reported nostalgically that "the lavish parties given by the former Iranian ambassador, where champagne flowed and footmen hovered behind each chair, are legendary." But, it seems, with the deportation of the ex-shah from Iran, the ambassador split too. "It's ironic, isn't it," philosophized one capitol party goer, "that for the greatest entertainer of them all, there was no farewell party."

**For a rainy day**—We reported that the Hunt brothers put up 63 million ounces of silver to borrow a billion dollars to cover their silver market speculation losses. But, fortunately, it didn't clean them out. They still control a company that has about 8 million ounces of silver on hand, worth about \$91 million.

**The march of civilization**—A patent has been issued for a short-wave device that will automatically reset your watch when you enter a different time zone. It could be convenient if you're scouring the country for a job.

## Women in Revolt

### Readings on women & unions

Women's movement magazines and trade union publications are dealing more frequently with the issue of working women and the unions. Two recent articles stand out in my mind.

Barbara Wertheimer, in an article entitled "Labor Unions in the 1980's: What Role for Women?" in the May 1980 *Spokeswoman*, gives a good summary of some of the questions involved.

Wertheimer is an associate professor and director of the Institute for Education and Research on Women and Work at Cornell University's New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations in New York City.

Wertheimer begins with the fact that about 86 percent, or 38 million women workers, do not belong to a union.

On the other hand, while women make up 28.2 percent of union membership and at least one half of the members in twenty-one unions are women, no woman heads a major union. Women hold fewer than 7 percent of top appointed or elected union posts, and these usually tend to be directors of research and education or social welfare.

Women's presence in unions does benefit them significantly when it comes to pay scales. Wertheimer points out that in 1979, women covered by a union contract earned more than unorganized women in every major occupation.

Thirty-three percent of men and women not covered by union contracts earned less than \$150

per week as of May 1977, while only 11 percent of union members fell below \$150 per week.

"Given the advances that labor has won for women in the work force and given the fact that so many women are still not represented by unions, the 1980's could herald a significant growth in union membership," Wertheimer believes.

She thinks the Coalition of Labor Union Women can play an important part in prompting the labor movement to take up issues of importance to women. CLUW's emphasis on affirmative action and organizing the unorganized is particularly important in this respect.

In addition Wertheimer suggests the unions will have to recruit and train women organizers, support issues of concern to working women such as federal child-care funding, combat sexual harassment on the job, and encourage leadership training for women.

"As women value themselves more," Wertheimer says, "they will want to join organizations through which they can exercise their new-found strength." These will be unions.

Union papers also are giving more attention to women workers. One good example is the *AFL-CIO American Federationist*, the official monthly magazine of the AFL-CIO.

In the April 1980 issue, the *Federationist* deals with such topics as "New Challenges for Women Workers" and "The American Family: Labor's

## Suzanne Haig



View."

The first article, by Carolyn Jacobson, who is the managing editor of the bakery union's paper, takes up some of the same questions as Wertheimer.

Jacobson pays particular attention to the problem of occupational segregation which means low-paying, little-skilled, no-advancement jobs for women. Some three-fourths of all women working are employed in services, finances, real estate, retail trade, and light factory work. These, of course, are either non-union or company-type unions.

Jacobson points to the fact that women have been subject to higher levels of unemployment than men. In 1975 women averaged 9.3 percent unemployed as compared to 7.9 percent for men. In 1976 as the economy improved, the gap widened as the rate for women dropped to 8.6 percent and to 7.0 percent for men.

Although not mentioned in the AFL-CIO article, these figures show the need for the unions to fight for affirmative action in hiring and job advancement, for an end to discriminatory layoffs where many of the gains made by women and Black workers are wiped out, and for jobs for all.

Keep an eye out in your union paper for these kinds of articles. They'll prove useful for discussions on women's rights on the job or at union and CLUW meetings.

To subscribe for one year to the *Federationist*, send two dollars to AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006.

## What's Going On

### CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

**WHY IS THERE A RECESSION?** Speaker: Dick Roberts, author of *Capitalism in Crisis*. Sat., June 25, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

**WHY THE ENERGY INDUSTRY SHOULD BE NATIONALIZED.** Speaker: Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 45th C.D. Fri., June 27, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

### ILLINOIS CHICAGO

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Sat., June 21, 6 p.m. refreshments, 7:30 p.m. rally. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

### NEW JERSEY NEWARK

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN PICNIC.** Meet the New Jersey socialist candidates. Cookout, swimming, softball game. Sun., June 29, noon softball game; 2 p.m. cookout. 17 Dougherty Ave., Gillette, N.J. Donation: \$2. Ausp: N.J. SWP Campaign. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK NEW YORK

**EL SALVADOR: REFORM OR REVOLUTION?** Speakers: Robert Armstrong, Committee in Support of the Salvadorean People's Struggle—Farabundo Martí; Anibal Yáñez, staff writer for *Perspectiva*

*Mundial*; representative of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala. Sat., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Foro de Perspectiva Mundial/Militant Forum. (Habrà traducción al español). For more information call (212) 260-6400.

**PEÑA—CULTURE OF THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE.** Music, poetry, and dance by Latin American artists. Food and drink. Sat., June 28, 7:30 p.m. Grace and St. Paul's Lutheran Church, 123 W. 71st St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Comité Chileno Anti-Fascista.

### NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

**EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT: WHY WE NEED IT. HOW TO WIN IT.** Speaker: Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers Party, founding member. Georgians for ERA. Sun., June 22, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### OHIO

#### CLEVELAND

**THE MIAMI REBELLION: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., June 22, 7:30 p.m. University Center, Room 111, Cleveland State University. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**HERBICIDES AND THE ENVIRONMENT.** From Oregon Forests to Love Canal. Speaker: Cameron McCredie, Oregon Sierra Club Executive Committee. Sun., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### TEXAS DALLAS

**WHY MIAMI EXPLODED: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT.** Speaker: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate in Alabama. Sun., June 22, 7 p.m. 5442 E. Grand. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

### HOUSTON

**WHY MIAMI EXPLODED: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT.** Speaker: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate in Alabama. Sat., June 21, 7:30 p.m. 806 Elgin, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. For more information call (713) 524-8761.

### SAN ANTONIO

**WHY MIAMI EXPLODED: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT.** Speaker: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate in Alabama. Sun., June 22, 12:30 p.m. 1406 N. Flores. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**COMMITTEE AGAINST REGISTRATION AND THE DRAFT CITY-WIDE PLANNING MEETING.** Called to organize the protest actions around registration week. Wed., June 25, 7 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th and Harvard St. NW. For more information call (202) 265-0458.

### NEW YORK

#### How to Fight City Hall and Win

Speakers:

**Arnold Cherry**, executive board, Transit Workers Union (tentative)  
**Bill Henning**, staff representative, Communications Workers of America  
**Dwight Loins**, president, Legal Services Staff Association  
**Ray Markey**, executive board, N.Y. Public Library Guild Local 1930  
**Marian Poro**, president, N.Y. Public Library Guild, Local 1930  
**Joe Sperling**, president, Social Services Employees Union  
**Emogene Walker**, president, N.Y. chapter, Coalition of Labor Union Women

**Thursday, June 26, 7:30 p.m.**  
**District 65 Headquarters Building**  
**13 Astor Place, 2nd floor, Manhattan**  
(between Broadway and 3rd Ave.)

Ausp: Legal Services Staff Association and N.Y. Public Library Guild.



## UMW & Ludlow massacre

Nearly 200 miners and their supporters gathered in Ludlow, Colorado, on June 4 to commemorate the Ludlow Massacre. On April 20, 1914, the hired guns of John D. Rockefeller II opened fire on a tent colony of the families of striking miners and then poured coal oil on the tents and set them afire. Twenty-one died in the massacre, including twelve children.

United Mine Workers District 15 President Bob Moore reminded those at this year's meeting that the battle is not over. An attempt is underway to place an anti-union "right to work" law for public employees on the Colorado ballot, he said, and if that passes, other working people would be next. UMW President Sam Church also spoke at the meeting.

The memorial meeting in Ludlow was attended by many with direct ties to the 1913-14 miners' strike for union recognition.

Militant correspondent Lois Remple reports that she accompanied Epifanio Martinez, a miner for more than forty-two years, "down into the crypt beside the monument where eleven children were suffocated or burned to death. Two of the children whose names are on the monument, Rogerlo Pedregone, six years old, and Cloriva, four years old, were his relatives.

"I also talked with Lucy Pentar of Trinidad, Colorado," says Remple, "whose parents were in the tent city at Ludlow during the massacre. Her mother, who had two small children and was pregnant with Lucy, managed to escape to a freight car, although one girl's cheek was grazed by a bullet. It was a week before the family learned the father had also escaped."

The isolated Colorado coalfields of 1913 were insufferably oppressive for the mining families. The coal companies, dominated by Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, controlled and profited from every aspect of the miners' lives. The miners lived in company houses, worshipped at company churches, shopped exclusively at company stores, and were even forced to patronize company doctors. The houses were cramped and shabby. There was little provision for sanitation anywhere in the company camps. Disease was rampant.

This total control was maintained with the use of immediate firing—which meant loss of home as well as job—for the slightest word or act of complaint from the miners.

The UMW sent organizers into southern Colorado in 1913. The coal operators, who had already flooded the coalfields with armed guards and detectives, refused to even talk with the union for fear it would signal recognition.

A miners' meeting in Trinidad on September 15 drew up a list of seven demands, the most important one being recognition of the UMW. Other demands were for the eight-hour day, a pay increase, the right to trade in any store and to live where they chose, and other job condition improvements.

For Rockefeller, keeping the UMW out of southern Colorado was to be accomplished no matter what. During a federal investigation of the strike after the massacre, Rockefeller was asked if he would keep the union out even if "that costs all your property and kills all your employees?"



Ludlow survivors



Monument to the dead

Rockefeller answered, "It is a great principle."

On September 23, 1913, about 9,000 miners complied with the strike call. Because they knew it meant instant expulsion from their homes, they marched with their families and belongings in a heavy snowstorm to a tent camp set up by the UMW.

There followed seven months of intermittent warfare between strikers and company thugs. State officials offered Rockefeller total collaboration, and the state militia—made up of mine guards, pit bosses, and their ilk—led the brutal violence against strikers and their families.

On April 20, 1914, militiamen occupied the hill overlooking the tents, and exploded two dynamite bombs. To resist an attack the strikers seized their rifles and took position nearby. The militiamen let loose with a rain of rifle and machine-gun fire on the tents. Hundreds of unarmed women and children ran for shelter in the hills. Scores, unable to escape, hid in pits and cellars underneath the tents.

Three from the tent colony died in the gunfire. Thirteen, eleven of them children, suffocated or burned to death in the fire set by the militia. Three more strikers were taken prisoner and shot on the spot.

As news of the massacre spread, workers throughout the state volunteered to join an army against the militia, mine guards, and coal operators. For ten days from 700 to 1,000 strikers battled the enemy until federal troops arrived. Thirty additional people died.

In typical capitalist "justice," a grand jury handpicked by the county sheriff returned indictments, most of them for murder, against 124 strikers and union officials.

Militia officers were brought before a court martial and acquitted by a panel of other officers, except for one murderer who was demoted in rank.

President Woodrow Wilson, under pressure because of aroused public opinion, proposed a "peace plan." It granted some concessions but outlawed "contractual relations," in other words the UMW, for three years.

The union accepted the terms, but the operators refused. When Wilson declined to take any further action to push the coal companies toward a settlement, the strike was called off on December 10, 1914.

—Nancy Cole

The story of Bloody Ludlow is told in the book 'American Labor Struggles: 1877-1934,' by Samuel Yellen. It is available for \$6.45 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

### Taconite Amendment

An error crept into the article on Andrew Pulley's campaign tour on the Iron Range in the June 13 issue. The tax break given to the iron ore mining industry on the Range, the Taconite Amendment, is incorrectly referred to as the Taconite Agreement.

John Herling's book on the Steelworkers Union, *Right to Challenge*, has an interesting story about the joint union-company campaign to get this tax measure passed, which has enriched the steel companies by millions of dollars at the expense of Minnesota workers.

In October 1963 the Steelworkers District 33 conference was held in Duluth. The conference banquet was organized as a big media event to push for the company tax break. Steelworkers International President David McDonald was invited by District Director Earl Bester to speak there. Herling quotes one of the union participants about what happened:

"McDonald's speech had been elaborately researched, polished, and refined for weeks. . . . Company representatives were invited to the District Conference banquet, an unusual fact in itself.

"You never saw so many TV cameras and mikes. . . . The dinner began without the guest of honor. Finally a rustle and bustle in back of the hall. . . . Flushed, slack-lipped (McDonald) was literally carried up to the dais with a guy under each arm. . . . Earl was absolutely livid. I said, 'What's the matter?' 'You can see. The dirty, rotten so-and-so is drunk.' . . .

"Earl got up and gave a nice introduction: ' . . . my great friend and yours David J. McDonald.' Wild applause. Dave got up. 'Where's the speech? Where's the God-damn speech?' Earl's secretary, Sophie, said, 'What's that in your back pocket, Mr.

McDonald?' He clutched at his hip where the speech had been stuck. He lurched toward the podium and dropped his speech. The pages fluttered to the floor. McDonald and Bester—all this on camera—stooped at the same time to pick it up. They bumped heads; apologized; stooped again; got a hold of the same sheet and managed to tear it in two. McDonald finally started reading, plunk in the middle of it. . . . Finally he set the script aside and said, 'I'd like to speak off the cuff. I don't like these stereotyped speeches.' He proceeded to deliver the most rambling, incoherent diatribe about nothing at all I have ever heard in my life."

In his autobiography called *Union Man, the Life of a Labor Statesman*, McDonald does not mention the banquet but does point out that Duluth declared a David J. McDonald Day when he came to town to speak for the Taconite Amendment.

Stu Singer  
Jersey City, New Jersey

### South Africa

Some of your articles on South Africa are quite presumptuous in defining the Coloured and Indian populations as "segments" of the "Black majority." The Coloured and Indian peoples are minorities, smaller than the white minority and racially and culturally distinct from the Black majority.

The so-called Black Consciousness movement and its idea of forcing a collective "Black" identity on the oppressed minorities within South Africa is not subscribed to by the great majority of Coloureds and Indians. Those who would deny these peoples their right to racial and cultural recognition are in effect denying their right to self-determination and pride in their own histories and separate identities.

### Miami's racist bus service

As the rebellion in Miami's Black community entered its third day, officials of the county-wide Metro Transit Agency announced the resumption of "limited" bus service.

Bus drivers reporting to work that morning discovered that "limited" meant "white." MTA was going to re-route buses around the Black communities, using the excuse they were under curfew and that buses, which symbolize county government to many, might be attacked.

But the drivers refused to go along with this racist scheme. They said they wouldn't drive and demanded the MTA provide service for all or suspend it altogether.

Later that morning MTA gave in, recalling those buses that had gone out.

When service resumed the next day it was county-wide, ending when the curfew began each evening. Night

service could not be resumed until the curfew was lifted several days later, increasing pressure on the governor to end the curfew.

Since the rebellion, MTA officials have taken ten of the buses in the worst condition off Liberty City routes, the county's main Black community, and replaced them with buses that had been used on white suburban routes. Discriminatory allocation of buses and maintenance have long been complaints of mechanics, drivers, and residents in Black areas.

A crash course in air conditioning repair has also begun for trainees in the garage servicing buses for the Liberty City routes. MTA has traditionally justified lack of operating air conditioners in many areas by claiming they didn't have enough qualified mechanics to maintain them.

A bus driver  
Miami, Florida



# Learning About Socialism

## The anti-imperialist united front

Indeed, to accept the racial tenet of the Black Consciousness movement would, if applied to oppressed minorities in general, make all Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Cubans, and most Latinos "Black" since they usually have dark skins and various degrees of African ancestry from the colonial slaves and their mulatto and *zambo* (Indian/African) descendants.

Since the Latinos are not considered anti-revolutionary because they would find it offensive to assimilate into the largest minority in the U.S.—the Blacks—the Coloureds and Indians of South Africa should not be deemed unacceptable unless they agree to assimilate into the Black majority.

Vanessa Malone  
Chicago, Illinois

[Ernest Harsch replies—As used in articles on South Africa in the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, the term "Black" encompasses the country's 19 million Africans, 2.5 million Coloureds (of mixed ancestry), and 750,000 Indians. All three sectors are nationally oppressed by the white minority regime. They have a common interest in seeing the apartheid regime overthrown and replaced by a majority-rule government.

[The white supremacists fear any attempts to forge solidarity and joint struggles by the three sectors of the Black population. They do everything they can to convince Coloureds and Indians that they have no interest in allying with Africans, and should instead fear them.

[The Black Consciousness movement, which was formed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, consciously sought to counter this policy of divide and rule. It sought to popularize use of the term "Black" to refer collectively to Africans, Coloureds, and Indians. (The South African government and press, in contrast, use the term Black to apply only to Africans.)

[The Black Consciousness movement was not interested in trying to socially or culturally "assimilate" the Coloured and Indian populations into the African majority, but to make them aware of their common political interests with Africans, to help unify the three sectors of the oppressed majority for political action against the racist system.

[Contrary to Vanessa Malone's contention, there are many young Coloured and Indian activists who do identify themselves as Blacks. I met and talked with some of them when I was in South Africa in 1978; they had no fear that they were being forcibly "assimilated." From the very beginning, Coloureds and Indians have been in the leadership of the Black Consciousness movement.]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

The struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America for full national independence and social justice, coupled with the opposition of American working people to new Vietnams, have thrown Washington onto the defensive.

Those who suffer most from imperialist domination of their governments and economies have made gains from Nicaragua to Indochina, from Liberia to Iran.

The leaders of the Cuban revolution have contributed mightily to this upsurge. They solidarize with the struggles of these peoples. They sent tens of thousands of troops to Angola to beat back a South African invasion, and thousands more to Ethiopia to prevent a U.S.-backed military drive by the Somali regime from destroying the Ethiopian revolution.

They provide aid—especially in the form of doctors, teachers, and technicians—to many other countries.

And they have forged close ties with revolutionary Grenada and Nicaragua, and with the forces fighting reactionary military dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The Castro regime's policies at home and abroad won it a leading position in the group of Non-aligned nations. There the Cuban leaders pressed for broader united actions against imperialism.

Lenin, Trotsky, and the other leaders of the Russian revolution also devoted attention to these struggles, although the upsurge among the colonies and semicolonies in their day was less broad than the struggles in the semicolonial world today.

This was part of their attempts to extend the socialist revolution. Like the Cubans, they recognized that this was vital to the survival of the revolution—and of the human race.

As a key part of this policy of extending the revolution, they founded the Communist International. It sought to guide and coordinate the activities of revolutionary working-class parties the world over.

The following is an excerpt on the "United anti-imperialist front" from the theses on the "Eastern Question" adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922.

\* \* \*

In the conditions prevailing in the West, where the transitional period is characterized by an organized gathering of forces, the slogan put forward is that of the proletarian united front, but in the colonial East the slogan that must be emphasized at the present is that of the anti-imperialist united front. The expediency of this slogan follows from the prospect of a prolonged and protracted struggle with world imperialism which demands the mobilization of all revolutionary elements. This mobilization is all the more necessary as the indigenous ruling classes are inclined to effect compromises with foreign capital directed against the vital interests of the masses of the people.

And just as in the West the slogan of the proletarian united front has helped and is still helping to expose social-democratic betrayal of proletarian interests, so the slogan of the anti-imperialist united front will help to expose the vacillation of various bourgeois-nationalist groups. The slogan will also promote the development of the revolutionary will and clarification of the class consciousness of the working masses and put them in the front ranks of those

who are fighting not only against imperialism, but also against the survivals of feudalism.

The workers' movement in the colonial and semicolonial countries must first of all win for itself the position of an independent revolutionary factor in the anti-imperialist front as a whole. Only when its importance as an independent factor is recognized and its political independence secured, are temporary agreements with the bourgeois democracy permissible and necessary.

The proletariat supports, and itself puts forward, partial demands, for example, the demand for an independent democratic republic, for abolishing the unequal legal status of women, etc., in so far as the existing relationship of forces does not allow it to make the realization of its Soviet programme the immediate task. At the same time it seeks to put forward slogans which promote the creation of political ties between the peasant and semi-proletarian masses and the industrial workers' movement.

It is one of the most important functions of the anti-imperialist united front tactic to make clear to the broad working masses the necessity of an alliance with the international proletariat and the Soviet republics. The colonial revolution can triumph and maintain its conquests only side by side with the proletarian revolution in the highly developed countries.

The danger of an agreement between bourgeois nationalism and one or several rival imperialist Powers is far greater in the semi-colonial countries like China or Persia, or in the countries which are fighting for their independence by exploiting interimperialist rivalries, like Turkey, than it is in the colonies.

Every such agreement means a wholly unequal division of power between the indigenous ruling classes and imperialism, and, under the cloak of formal independence, leaves the country in its former position as a semi-colonial buffer State in the service of world imperialism. The working class acknowledges that it is permissible and necessary to make partial and temporary compromises in order to win a breathing space in the revolutionary struggle for liberation against imperialism, but it must be absolutely and irreconcilably opposed to any attempt at an open or tacit division of power between imperialism and the indigenous ruling classes designed to maintain the class privileges of the latter.

The demand for a close alliance with the proletarian Soviet republic is the device of the anti-imperialist united front.

In addition to putting forward this slogan, the most resolute struggle must be waged for the broadest possible democratization of the political system, in order to deprive the most politically and socially reactionary elements of their support in the country and to secure for the workers organizational freedom in the struggle for their class interests (the demands for a democratic republic, agrarian reform, fiscal reform, the reorganization of administration on the basis of comprehensive local self-government, labour legislation, protection of juveniles, maternal and child welfare, etc.).

Even in independent Turkey the working class does not enjoy freedom of association, which is an index to the attitude of the bourgeois nationalists towards the proletariat.

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# THE MILITANT

## Steel local union leader runs for Congress

### Ed Mann: 'The program is jobs'

By Stu Singer

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—Steelworkers union activists here have decided to run their own independent candidate for Congress against the Democrats and Republicans.

The candidate is Ed Mann, president of Steelworkers Local 1462 and one of the most prominent leaders in the fight against the plant shutdowns.

The unionists have already petitioned and submitted 2,200 signatures to get Mann on the ballot as an independent, well above the 1,300 required.

This labor campaign grows directly out of the three-year struggle against steel plant closings that have devastated Youngstown. Four of the five major mills here are completely or partially shut down now.

Youngstown steelworkers have tried several different approaches to save their jobs. Local unions made contract concessions to improve the profitability of two plants. U.S. Steel Corporation simply pocketed the extra profits and shut down the plants anyway.

The union locals and other groups and individuals in the community tried to get government backing to buy one or more plants and run them under "community-worker ownership." These efforts have fallen through.

Lawyers have tried ingenious legal maneuvers to stop the shutdowns. These have lost.

But through all the efforts Youngstown steelworkers and their families have shown determination and militancy. Steelworkers from Youngstown occupied company office buildings in Pittsburgh and Youngstown to protest the shutdowns.

Out of this effort, union activists see it as only logical to direct the fight at



Ed Mann, left, at 'Seminar on Plant Closings' June 7. Seated, Ron Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397 at Homestead, and union staff representative Marvin Weinstock.

the federal government by running one of the main union spokespeople for Congress.

Ed Mann, fifty-two, has worked for Youngstown Sheet and Tube and its successor companies, Lykes and Jones and Laughlin, for twenty-eight years.

Local 1462 represented 1,400 steelworkers at the Brier Hill Works right in the middle of town on the Mahoning River. All but one department at the mill has been shut down. The local has only about 100 members working now, and that will shrink to sixty.

Mann is in his second term as president of the local; he was active in the union and held other posts for years before that.

He was an outspoken opponent of the Vietnam war, unusual for a steel-

worker official, even on the local level.

I spoke with Mann at a "Seminar on Plant Shutdowns" held here June 7. He recently got out of the hospital and was unable to talk for more than a few minutes.

"The platform is jobs," he said. "Everything is jobs. After we are certified for the ballot, and assuming I am physically well enough to campaign, we are going to call a meeting in the congressional district and develop the platform from that."

"Schoolteachers, retired people, students, workers will develop the program. It won't be like the Democrats. They say, 'Here's our program, this is what I stand for, now vote for me.' I want a program that meets the needs of the community."

I asked why he was running as an independent.

"I don't think anything would change if I ran as a Democrat or Republican. We're looking for change. We have a caucus in the local and we expanded it. There was some opposition to my running as an independent. Some thought I should run as a Democrat. But the majority said, nothing will change. So you might as well go as an independent."

Tillie Tylasky, long-time secretary of Local 1462, explained how the petitioning was organized. She said it was done by "the labor people" in Warren, Campbell, and Youngstown, including the presidents of some other union locals.

She said people were glad to sign the petition to run Ed for Congress. Everybody knows he is the union leader who has been fighting the shutdowns.

Mann will be running against incumbent Republican Lyle Williams and Democratic State Senator Harry Meshel, who people describe as one of the main political bosses in Ohio.

Republican Williams claims to be the son of a coal miner. And he joined one of the suits against U.S. Steel filed by the steelworkers attempting to stop the plant shutdowns. But Williams accomplished nothing as congressman to save jobs in Youngstown.

Naturally, the Democratic Party machine in the area is not pleased with Mann's candidacy. The Democrats were counting on taking back the seat that Williams had captured for the Republicans in the last election. Before that it was held by Democrats for decades.

The nineteenth congressional district where Ed Mann is running is

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## USWA targets big Louisiana shipyard

By Peter Moore

NEW ORLEANS, La.—On the heels of the historic organizing victory at the huge Newport News shipyard in Virginia, the United Steelworkers union has begun organizing efforts in Avondale Shipyards in southern Louisiana.

Steelworkers leafleted the gates May 23 with summaries of the Newport News contract and a cover letter urging workers to fill out union cards and mail them in.

Avondale Shipyards is a notorious union-busting outfit. With about 9,000 employees, it is the largest private employer in Louisiana. Since Newport News came under union contract, Avondale is the largest non-union shipyard in the country.

Avondale officials boast of having defeated at least three previous organizing drives by other unions. When the so-called "right to work" law was passed in Louisiana in 1976, they sent busloads of foremen pretending to be workers to the state capitol to lobby for its passage.

A previous exploratory effort by the Steelworkers last summer ended when a dozen or more union activists in the

yard were illegally fired, and disagreements about how to respond resulted in a group of fired workers picketing the Steelworkers headquarters.

Avondale workers have good reason to want a union. Raises, disciplinary action, and working conditions depend completely on the whims of the bosses.

During layoffs two years ago, the company president walked around the yard fingering people he wanted to get rid of. He singled out a number of workers with ten or twenty years experience to get across the point that anyone can lose their job if they don't watch their step.

### 'It's who you know'

Avondale's promotion policies are summed up by workers in the yard: "It's not what you know, it's who you know."

The company's total lack of concern for safety leads to frequent accidents, sometimes fatal ones. Race and sex discrimination are widespread.

Avondale responded swiftly to the Steelworker literature distribution. A letter to employees was in the mail within hours. At a series of meetings in

the yard, the company elaborated on the arguments in the letter. Then more letters were sent from the heads of departments.

### Response of workers

According to workers in the yard, reaction to the Steelworkers was mixed but generally favorable, especially among Black workers, who are a majority of the work-force.

Reaction to the company meetings was negative:

"Lies."

"Bull."

"Don't believe what they tell you."

"Now I want to hear the facts from the Steelworkers."

One worker said he would go home, read the contract, find out the facts for himself, and then decide whether to send in a card.

Another reacted to the company's scare argument about the thirteen-week strike at Newport News by saying that he would love to be on strike for thirteen weeks, it would be a welcome vacation.

Several workers said the speed of the

company's response showed that it must be scared.

Reaction to the union was not all favorable. One woman who came to Avondale from Ingalls, a large Mississippi shipyard, was firmly convinced that unions have something to do with layoffs. She thought there was some national seniority list for the Steelworkers and that laid off members from the North would come to Avondale and bump people out of jobs.

Ingalls is organized by the Boilermakers and others. It has laid off half its work force in the past two years.

Another former Ingalls worker was for the union, pointing to the inferior safety and working conditions at Avondale.

Another worker complained that unions just take your dues and don't do what they're supposed to for you. Many had questions about the wages at Newport News compared with Avondale.

### 'Crime against nature'

Almost no one had anything good to say about Avondale, however, including those who were skeptical about

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